

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW,

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*No man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of
prompting by those who, not contented with stale receipts are able to manage
and set forth new positions to the world and, were they but as the dust and
unders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not
utterly to be cast away —MILTON*

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 94.

ART I.—MISS CARPENTER'S SIX MONTHS IN INDIA

THE education bestowed on the young men of India has, up to the present time, been mainly intellectual: it has not yet been applied, in any systematic manner, either to practical life or to the domain of feeling. In breaking up a system like Hindooism, which rests upon a purely theocratic basis, it is no doubt essential to commence by emancipating the intellect, but as long as the training received is merely intellectual, so long must it be fraught with considerable danger both to the individual and to the community. The intellect, to which an unnatural predominance is now given, was intended for service, and not for empire; when apparently supreme, it is really only obedient to the personal instead of the social instincts. Happiness, whether private or public, is far more dependent upon virtue than upon mere knowledge, and hence any system of education which aims simply at developing the intellectual faculties is deficient, and should be regarded as merely provisional.

Human nature is composed of three distinctive elements,—Feeling, Intellect, and Activity,—which require to be so mutually adjusted as to produce a harmonious result. Such a result can be obtained only when Feeling or Affection is made to control both Intellect and Action. The natural supremacy which belongs to Feeling and Intellect, as compared with mere force, is manifest, for the history of man, in his advance from barbarism to civilisation, is but a record of the gradual triumph of intelligence and sociability over the personal and selfish instincts. That Feeling, however, should preponderate over Intellect, in the same way that Feeling and Intellect together preponderate over Activity, is not so manifest, though a careful consideration of history will show that it is equally true. We shall

assume, then, that in a normal and healthy state of society the moral element ought to be the controlling one—whenever the intellect struggles for, and appears to acquire, the mastery, there is partial disorder, and the conditions must be regarded as exceptional. Periods characterised by aggression of the intellect must indeed occur, as otherwise change and amelioration would be impossible—at least until such time as a doctrine has been attained, which shall thoroughly reconcile order with progress, conservatism with liberalism, solidarity with continuity.

Such a period of intellectual aggression is the present one, both in Europe and in India—an essentially transitional period during which the old order is breaking up and giving place to the new. The change in Europe is proceeding with great rapidity, and extends to almost every department of human energy. In India, on the contrary, the change is more gradual, and is confined as yet almost wholly to speculation. The English schools and colleges are the centres from whence are radiating doctrines, which, though revolutionary in their origin, must eventually lead to a thorough re-construction of Hindoo society. The attack upon the old order having but recently commenced it would be premature as yet to dogmatise concerning the final result. A strong and compact fabric like that of Hindoo Polytheism cannot be thoroughly undermined in one or two generations—a length of time commensurate with the intensity of the forces to be overcome must elapse before any decided change can be effected, and not until the change has become sufficiently marked will it be possible to trace, even in outline, the social organisation of the future. For many years to come there must be a state of anarchy and confusion, the desire for change and innovation continuing to be strong, the submission to authority remaining weak.

We now propose to enquire what is the part which woman is fitted to play under such circumstances.

The transitional period, as we have contended, is at present characterised chiefly by great boldness and activity of the intellect. Now men, as endowed with more intellectual energy than women, are necessarily the first to attack the old beliefs, and, as the vanguard of the invading force, are doomed to suffer severely during the heat of the conflict. While the process of demolition is going on, while doctrines are purely negative, and while the intellect is revelling in a newly-acquired freedom, it is most desirable that women, if they are to retain their distinctive characteristics, should be withheld

from influences which harden, even when they do not debase, those who are submitted to them. These critical epochs are always attended with danger and partial demoralisation,* they cannot be regarded as good in themselves, though they may be necessary in order to give rise to a better state of things than that which preceded them. Those who have themselves been emancipated from the thralldom of Hindooism, allow, for the most part, that, from a moral point of view, the intellectual training which the youth of India now receives is far from beneficial. The young men, in throwing aside the restraints of their religion, are apt to part with many of those loftier qualities which distinguish their orthodox countrymen—qualities which are to a nation what her sons were to the noble Cornelia, treasures more precious than the costliest gems, gifts compared with which all others sink into insignificance†. Are we, then, let us ask ourselves, prepared, in solemn earnest, to advise the men of India to introduce among their women an education which, if thoroughly administered, must inevitably destroy the unhesitating faith, the instinctive reverence, the simple tenderness, the calm heroism which ought everywhere to be the peculiar attributes of womanhood, and which avail more than any intellectual accomplishments to secure the real happiness and well-being of mankind? There are facts enough to indicate that the women of this country now possess an ample share of the most essentially feminine virtues†. The practice of Suttee, much as it is to be reprobated, is alone sufficient to vindicate the inherent nobility

* The nature of such a period is thus well described by Mr C E Appleton, in a paper on "The Dark Ages," which appeared in the June Number of the Contemporary Review. "The intellectual and moral anarchy of the Reformation period is apt to be forgotten amidst the immense advantages which mankind has derived from the movement, but such demoralization is inseparable from those great revolutions in society, when the continual conflict between past and future, which is the life of the present, is aggravated into a crisis, because the *status quo*, instead of passing over insensibly into a new order of things, outlasts its day, and then at length falls through with a crash, to make room for a fabric which has yet to be built from the ground. Such times are always seasons of darkness and social discontinuity; the tendencies to decay prevail over the tendencies to repair, and a pathological condition (as it has been termed) of the body politic ensues."

† It may not be out of place here to quote the following lines from the *Mahābhārata*, in which the old Hindoo ideal of a virtuous wife is depicted.—

"The wife is half the man—a friend,
The wisest, truest, best,
On her wealth, virtue, joy depend,
And hopes of heavenly rest

Miss Carpenter's

of a race which can produce the most exquisite types of purity and tenderness, of courage and self-devotion. Would it not, then, be madness on our part, by prematurely forcing upon them a foreign education, to rob the women of India of qualities which it may be difficult to restore, and in place of which we can only substitute the outward glitter and show of western civilisation, whence there can spring, as yet, naught but a few meagre and problematical benefits? It appears to us that many of those who advise the immediate adoption of European customs and modes of thought, do not sufficiently regard the inevitable consequences of the revolution which they advocate—consequences which, if realised, they themselves would be the first to contemplate with horror, terrified at last by the work of their own hands, like Frankenstein when the livid monster he had fabricated became suddenly instinct with the long-wished-for life.

The earliest effect of a sound English education upon the female mind would be to destroy the old religious beliefs,*

Call her thy children's mother, wife,
Who tends thy home with skill,
Who loves thee as her lord and life,
' And joys to do thy will
She comforts thee with gentle speech,
And all a mother's care,
Teaching, as pious fathers teach,
Religion, piety, and prayer
Happy the man who, worn and tried
By life's hard thorny way,
Can find this angel by his side,
His comfort, guide, and stay "

* The following curious remarks, addressed by an orthodox Mussulman to Baboo Shama Churn Bose, the Deputy Inspector of Schools for Burrisal, and quoted by Ali Woodrow in his Report for 1858-59, will illustrate the effect of our education —

"With the exception of the blind, whoever possesses the gift of sight, is daily experiencing that the sun rising up in the east gradually declines and sets in the west, while the moon, with all her bright host of heavenly planets, revolves round the earth. But, ah! what a charming infatuation is there in English knowledge. How sadly are you beguiled, perverted, and entangled in the snare of your misguided opinions by your English—you, whose ancestors cherished the religion from time immemorial, have now utterly forsaken it, and maintain, to the prejudice of our daily ocular evidences, that the sun is fixed, and the terraqueous earth revolves round him! Such is the beguiling fascination of the English study! It creates disbelief in faith, and disbelief begets heresy or infidelity which ultimately hurls down mankind to sulphureous hell. Hence the country, far

and with them the ground-work of the popular ethics—a result to be averted at any cost until some fitting substitute has been found. Many will no doubt be inclined to think that serious danger is not to be apprehended because Christianity can immediately supply the required safeguard. We are not among those who would in any way depreciate the wonderful moral efficacy of Christianity, but it appears to us that the experience of past years has shown that Christianity is unlikely to take root in this country—the most trustworthy exponents of the national will having repeatedly and emphatically declared that, whatever other changes may be adopted, the change from Hindooism to Christianity is out of the question. Now more than ever, when the religious mind of European Christendom is slowly drifting from its ancient moorings, when there are traitors in every sect and church, would it be futile to suppose that we can avert the dangers of intellectual negativism by the introduction of a foreign and unsettled creed? Let Europe first work out for herself a religion which shall unite her together, a religion which shall not only satisfy the heart but also convince the understanding, and then she may expect to furnish an antidote for scepticism and immorality, which will be willingly and thankfully received.

We have no desire to relegate the women of India to a never-ending intellectual bondage, but let their freedom, when it comes, be so conferred, that it may prove a blessing instead of a curse to the nation at large. The social medium of Hindooism may hitherto have been unfavorable to the cultivation of mind and the refinement of taste, but as this medium improves, we can see no reason why the daughters of India should not be as richly endowed as those of any other country with all the qualities which are regarded as essential for the highest standard of womanly excellence. They already possess the most important qualification,—domestic virtue,—

. For nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote,

Possessing this, they have a gift like that which the Christians of old were taught to seek—a gift which has the power

from prospering in its moral and intellectual condition by the study of English, as you aver, is seen to suffer in its religion."

We do not endorse all the sentiments of this zealous Mussulman, but we consider that he represents with tolerable accuracy the opposition that must now-a-days ensue between reason and the prevailing beliefs of the country.

of conferring upon its owner, in due time, all lesser benefits. The educated men of India must doubtless be quite as anxious as their European well-wishers to secure for their country-women those advantages which must ensue from an enlightened intelligence and a cultivated taste, without which the chivalrous devotion of man to woman—that rich legacy which feudalism has bequeathed to after ages—must be wanting. It was the sentiment, not the passion, of love which converted the wild free-booter of medieval times into the courtly knight, the champion of the fair, the protector of the weak, and it is this sentiment which still purifies the heart, and exalts the intellect of man—

Quella che imparadisa la mia mente,
Ogni basso pensier dal cor m' avulse.

Let, then, the men of India form to themselves as exalted an ideal of woman as possible, and let them gradually educate their wives and daughters so as to conform to this ideal, but let them beware lest, in order to attain the desired end, they commence by destroying the very basis on which they ought to build.

In the book placed at the head of this article, the subject of female education in India is discussed by one who has devoted a large portion of her life to the theory and practice of education. Although it must be allowed by all that Miss Carpenter deserves the greatest credit for her untiring energy, her kindly sympathy, and her enthusiastic zeal, yet we cannot but regard her educational schemes as hastily conceived, and totally unsuited to the peculiar wants of the country which she proposed to benefit.

At a meeting held in Calcutta, in 1866,* Miss Carpenter thus briefly indicated her opinions and designs—“The employment of men in the instruction of girls is one reason why mothers withdraw them at so early an age. The great secret of the little success of female education is evidently the want of good female teachers. To secure these, properly conducted Normal Training Schools are required. The Government will gladly assist in establishing such schools, if they only know that their help will be acceptable. In the scheme which I am about to recommend, I take as a fundamental principle the Government plan of non-interference on the subject of religion. There must

* This meeting was held in the hall of the Brahma Samaj, Dec. 1st, 1866. A report of the meeting appeared in the *Friday Review*, Dec. 7th, 1866, and of this report we have availed ourselves.

be no interference with the religion either of teachers or pupils. For, I think, the Christians have as good a claim to have their religious feelings respected as the Hindoos. I propose to have a boarding establishment for the pupils while under training, one department for Christians, and another, quite distinct, for Hindoos, where they may live after their own fashion. I next propose to bring from England a lady of first-rate abilities and acquirements, to superintend all the departments of the Training School. I also propose to get from England a first-rate certificated teacher who knows thoroughly all the newest modes of teaching, by which education is now made so attractive to the young. All the Native pupils will learn English, and all the English pupils will learn the Vernacular. Part of the day will be occupied in teaching female schools in the neighbourhood. At first I thought of simply asking for a grant-in-aid from Government, proposing to supply the rest by voluntary contributions, but on mature consideration, I have determined to ask the Government to undertake the whole expense for some time, as it has done for training schools for boys. That Hindoo girls may be greatly improved is evident from what is done in the Mission Schools. In all the Mission Girls' Schools I have found female teachers. When Hindoos become Christians, they of course give up that system of child-marriage which enlightened men deplore. They can thus remain at school for a longer period, so that they can be trained to be teachers. At present the girls attending schools are very few in number, but with better teachers and training many more parents would send their children to be educated."*

At a meeting held in Madras, early in 1867, Miss Carpenter explained, as follows, the nature of the education which she

* Baboo Khetter Mohun Ghose, one of the speakers at the same meeting, thus criticised Miss Carpenter's views — "There are difficulties in the way of such a training school as Miss Carpenter had proposed, which would be insuperable for many years to come. The same difficulty which prevents respectable Hindoos from sending their girls to the Bethune School, would prevent their sending them to the proposed school. It is vain to expect the natives to take the initiative in this matter. We have been talking and speechifying on this subject for the last 25 years, but what have we accomplished? It is mockery to say that girls are *educated* in the Bethune School, my own girl was sent at 7 years of age and married at 8. She was not allowed to attend school after that, for I had in this matter to consult the wishes of my relatives. Again, teachers educated in the way Miss Carpenter proposes must be 'converts,' for no respectable native will send his daughter. With such a body of teachers you can accomplish nothing."

Miss Carpenter's

deemed fit for Hindoo girls :— “ As to the subjects in which the girls are to be educated, their education should be such as to render them fit and useful help-mates. Here I shall simply state what I have found useful in English schools. With girls as with boys, the mind as well as the body should be developed. English girls take out-door exercise, but Native girls are not allowed to join in out door recreation. I would, therefore, suggest calisthenic exercise, which is productive of immense good. I would also suggest the cultivation of a plot of ground. The cultivation of beautiful flowers helps to soften the mind of girls. We shall now turn to the intellectual powers, which, I need hardly say, require careful training. It won't do merely to teach them, but they should also be taught to think, and make use of what they learn. I would show the girls experiments in Natural Philosophy, not as mere spectacles, but explaining the principles in familiar and easy language, adapted to their capacities. Music also should be taught to girls, as it tends to refine the mind. I would add Drawing to the other accomplishments ”

That a plan which (i) regarded it as feasible to take young Hindoo girls, the children of the upper classes away from their homes, in order to educate them in public schools, and that in a country where the seclusion of women is almost an article of faith, which (ii) manifested no just appreciation of the religious scruples of Hindoo parents; and which (iii) utterly ignored the impossibility of inducing persons of different creeds in India to dwell together within the same establishment, and to recognise in all matters, whether domestic or professional, the authority of an English lady—that such a plan should have been elaborated by one whose experience was confined to England, is not surprising, although Miss Carpenter has recorded in her book facts which might have led her to form a more correct estimate of the difficulties she would meet with, and might have warned her, that India was not the place where such a revolution, as that which she so warmly and pertinaciously advocated, would have any chance of success.

One great, and perhaps the greatest, obstacle which English education has to encounter in the case of women, is the fear of proselytism which exists in the native mind—a fear which is not unfounded, and which is certain to be realised if English women are to be the teachers of their own sex. Men, with their cold, unbiassed intellects, can, as a rule, be relied upon for abstaining from religious propagandism, but it would be impossible to debar a

woman from expatiating upon those subjects which are nearest to her heart, and that woman would make but an indifferent preceptress, who did not regard her religion as furnishing the highest moral code, and as indispensable in forming the characters of her pupils. But, even if teachers could be found who were anxious to restrict themselves to purely secular instruction, it will always be difficult, and often impossible, to separate such instruction from topics of a religious nature. The following incident,* related by a lady who is engaged in zenana teaching, will serve to show how readily the secular may glide into the religious. — “One day the following sentence occurred in the No. 1 English Spelling-book — ‘Christ laid down his life for his sheep.’ My pupils said they could not understand the meaning, and asked me to explain it. I did so to the best of my ability, and apparently they did understand my mixture of bad Bengalee and Hindostanee, for one who appeared to be more impressed than the others observed:— ‘If God is just and good, why did he allow a sinless man to die for sinners? and if Jesus Christ, who you say was pure and holy and sinless, died for sinners, then did he love you Christians much, for no man would die for another?’” Miss Carpenter does not appear to have considered with sufficient care the difficulty arising from the religious aspect of the question; she does not altogether ignore it, but seems to think a simple declaration of neutrality sufficient to obviate it. She mentions, however, several circumstances which, if duly weighed, might have proved to her that the Hindoo’s vague terror of conversion was not to be so easily overcome. Thus (1) in explaining how difficult it would be for an English lady, engaged in teaching, to find suitable accommodation at Ahmetabad, she observes — “The missionary had not a home where he could receive any lady to board; and if he had, it would not be considered suitable by the natives for her to live there, as it would give her work a proselytising character, which would entirely defeat its object. No guarantee on her part would remove the suspicion from the native ladies that her real intention was to convert them; and interference with their religion they would not tolerate” (2). At a meeting which was held at the house of Mr. Powell, in Madras, Miss Carpenter enquired particularly from

* Quoted from the *Indian Church Gazette* in the *Indian Daily News* of Feb. 26, 1868.

the native gentlemen present the cause of their evident objection to allowing their daughters to learn English. One of them answered — "We do not wish our ladies to be made humble Christians." It may surprise many to find that this 'plain, blunt man' was included among those who on the same occasion signed the following statement — "We, the undersigned, being deeply impressed in the cause of female education, feel it absolutely necessary for its promotion to have an institution established for the training of female teachers" One who dreaded the effects of an English education upon the religious principles of Hindoo ladies, should surely have affixed his signature with some qualification (3) In describing one of the Rev. Mr Long's schools, it is stated that a certain plan,* which was freely adopted in the case of boys, could not be employed with girls, "because there is extreme fear among the Hindoos of their daughters being converted" This shows (as might have been anticipated on *a priori* grounds) that the fear of conversion operates far more strongly with regard to girls than it does with regard to boys.

It is true that Miss Carpenter strongly deprecates any interference with social or religious customs, but she does not indicate how the orthodox Hindoo is to be persuaded that our intentions are harmless, and she fails to perceive that he may dread perversion as much as conversion, and that an English education, by unsettling the ancient modes of action and belief, must lead to the most disastrous results or, if she does believe that partial injury may ensue, she hopes (as is more than probable from several passages in her book) that from the wild chaos of opinions there may emerge a kind of transcendental Christianity, sufficiently soon to prevent any extensive demoralisation. If this conclusion be correct, it cannot but be regarded as somewhat inconsistent that, while assuring the Hindoos that their religious susceptibilities will be scrupulously respected, they should nevertheless be urged to adopt a system which must eventually lead to the very result which they now so intensely dread

Miss Carpenter has taken no small pains to ascertain the opinion of those members of the native community with whom

* Namely, the plan of dividing the time of one thoroughly trained teacher among a number of village-schools, giving a day to each Mr Long thus instructs the teacher, and introduces a higher standard into the schools, especially as he himself not unfrequently visits them.

she came in contact, as to the value of her mission, and her probable chances of success. Whenever a social meeting is held in honor of the noble-hearted Englishwoman, some of those present are requested by her to express their views in writing. Miss Carpenter has favored her readers with several of the records made in her memorandum book on such occasions—records which may no doubt be gratifying as expressions of sympathy and admiration, but which, in most cases, are not such as to inspire one with much confidence in the judgment and good taste of the writers. One gentleman, for example, thus expresses his sentiments:—"Be hopeful, O my heart, thy hovering doubts are past and gone; that which thou didst believe to be impossible will now be accomplished through the friendly exertion of Miss Carpenter, the famous philanthropist of Bristol. The grand object of her visit to this country is, I believe, to do what she can towards rescuing our women from their present degrading ignorance and superstition, and thereby elevate their moral and social position. May the Almighty and All-merciful God bless her efforts and grant her every success! Amen." Another reasons thus:—"The great difficulty in the work of female education in this country is that we cannot find competent female instructors among us. She (Miss Carpenter) has come here to observe the condition of women in this country, and to promote their education. I am of opinion that if we get a European lady to teach them, it will be very well. Our women are very sharp, and quite able to learn what may be taught them. They easily learn our religious books taught them by male teachers. Secular learning is not more difficult. Secular education makes no progress because we have no female teachers. It is because they are ignorant that they (women of this country) do not understand in some respects what is right and good, and what is wrong and bad. They are not able to hear and read books containing good knowledge. Then, again, they are, for the most part, confined to their houses, which prevents the development of their faculties. I have much more to say. I have expressed my views very briefly. I conclude now. I very much thank Miss Carpenter for her coming over to this country to encourage education among our fair sex, and to improve their condition. It is very good of her to do so. I hope the social position and condition of our females will begin to improve from this time."

The only really valuable expressions of native opinion, cited by Miss Carpenter, are those which have emanated from such

men as Baboos Kissory Chand Mittra, Peary Chand Mittra, Keshub Chunder Sen, and a few others, who belong, like them, to the most advanced school of liberals. This school, it should be remembered, forms but a very small section of the native community; it exerts, no doubt, a considerable influence owing to its earnestness and capacity, but it can only be regarded as feebly representing the wants and wishes of the vast body of the nation. However confident we may feel as to the ultimate success of many of the reforms advocated by this little band of Hindoo free-thinkers, it would be both impolitic and unjust if the Government (which should legislate impartially for all) were, in accordance with the suggestions of a few bold innovators, to impose upon the majority schemes greatly at variance with their ordinary habits and most cherished predilections.

The Government has certainly a difficult task to perform, being naturally anxious to promote the cause of enlightenment and advancement, as it is termed by the enlightened few, and yet being fully alive to its responsibilities as the sovereign and protector both of the enlightened few and the unenlightened many. The recent resolution on the subject of Female Normal Schools bears marks of this two-fold solicitude. While consenting, under certain restrictions, to establish Female Normal Schools in the three Presidency towns as an experimental measure, the Government carefully abstains from any interference with the ordinary schools beyond that already exercised, and refuses to sanction any additional outlay of the public money for their support. To effect any extensive or immediate changes, the radical party must henceforth rely upon their own resources. They can expect no direct aid from a Government which is wisely determined to advance in the path of reform most gradually but none the less surely. The resolution thus indicates the policy to be pursued.—

“The Government of India need not say that it recognises to the fullest extent the fact that the encouragement of female education is an object the importance of which cannot be estimated too highly. But it fears that, if the greatest care and caution be not exercised, the efforts of the Government to promote this object may tend rather to frustrate it, and to stimulate the opposition of the ignorant and suspicious.

“The Governor-General in Council is far from satisfied that (except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency towns) the native community has as yet shown any spontaneous desire

for the extension of female education, indeed, there is ground to fear that the action already taken in that direction on the part of Government has, in some places, been regarded with mistrust, nor is it surprising that this should be the case. The true value of education, even for males, is hardly as yet fully appreciated by the native community at large, while, on the other hand, it must be obvious, even to the most ignorant among them, that the natural result of the general extension of female education would be to place the domestic relations of every family on a new footing, and to break up existing social habits and traditions. Even when these results themselves are fully accepted as beneficial, the interference of foreign rulers to effect them will probably be distasteful. Far more must this be the case when such changes are opposed to widely prevailing customs, or to deeply-rooted and long-established prejudices. It is on these grounds that his Excellency in Council considers that if measures for female education be set on foot by external influence, and especially by that of Government, the Native community is not likely to co-operate in forwarding them, but, on the contrary, will receive them with apathy, if not with opposition.

"It is only when large experience has taught the people the advantage of education generally, and the special benefit which the spread of female education would effect, that they can reasonably be expected to feel the want of means for female education, and it is only then that any demand for the supply of these is likely to arise; but it is probably only to a very limited extent in the Presidency towns and among those classes who have participated in the advantages of superior English education, that such a want has yet been felt.

"The Governor-General in Council, therefore, considers it a grave political necessity to maintain the principle of the rules which have been already prescribed, that is to say, that as a condition of pecuniary aid from Government, it should be always required that the initiative in every case be taken, *bonâ fide*, by the native local community itself, and that they should contribute a reasonable share of the requisite outlay as a pledge of their earnestness and sincerity. It may, however, as has been already said, be admitted that, to some extent, the want of female education is beginning to be felt in the Presidency towns—at least among the more highly educated classes of the native community. The Governor-General in Council is, therefore, willing so far to relax existing rules as to permit the

Local Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal to carry out the experiment of a Female Normal School in the three Presidency towns, and for this purpose to place at the disposal of each Government the sum of Rs 12,000 per annum for five years. A special report on the progress of each school, and of the classes which avail themselves of its benefits, should be furnished annually to the Government of India.

"But, as regards the interior of the country, His Excellency in Council is unable to depart from the conditions already specified, and which are recognised by the existing rules under which grants-in-aid are given."

Among the suggestions made by Miss Carpenter for the establishment of a Female Normal School, we find the following — (1) "A house should be procured, adapted to furnish a comfortable residence for about a dozen Christian students, with a Lady Superintendent. Arrangements should be made for the separate boarding of non-Christian native students when required."* (2) "Persons who wish to become students in training, must apply to the Inspector, and must satisfy him that it is their intention to study, and faithfully to prepare to be teachers. They will receive board and instruction while in the institution." The Inspector, we imagine, would not be overburdened with applications from respectable Hindoo women, who were expected to leave their homes and board in the same dwelling with those who were not Hindoos. There is great difficulty, as it is, in obtaining any but women of the lowest class to engage in teaching, but the difficulty would become quite insurmountable if such a condition as that stated in the above suggestions were to be exacted. But, waiving this objection, there are still two very serious obstacles to the creation of such institutions — (1) The teachers required, whether it be for the zenana or the school, should not be drawn from the lowest stratum of society, for if so, no respectable Hindoo father would entrust his young daughters to their charge †. But where are the women of

* Miss Carpenter considers it desirable to exclude *men-servants* from the household.

† There exists among the natives a strong prejudice against those who are now educated in the Female Normal Schools. The idea is not unfrequently entertained that the pupils who attend these schools are women of bad character. Mr. Clarke, in his Report for 1866-67, says — "I find from the testimony of persons not officially connected with me, that there is a very common belief, even in Racca town itself, that the Female Normal School pupils are disreputable women. As far as I can learn, there is

refinement to be found who either would themselves be willing, or who, even if willing, could obtain the consent of their parents or guardians to allow them to pursue education as a profession? Plato himself had not more contempt for the sophist who imparted knowledge and wisdom to the Athenian youth for pay, than the Hindoo would have for the woman who gained her livelihood by teaching—even though her pupils were not trained to make the worse appear the better cause. (2) Granting, however, that a suitable body of teachers has been obtained, there still remains the difficulty of inducing families the upper classes to patronise girls' schools so long as Hindoo society retains its present domestic usages. The seclusion of women among the Hindoos, to whatever cause its origin may be ascribed, has now been sanctioned by tradition and rendered obligatory by national consent. This custom presents a formidable obstacle to all those who commence their educational reforms by endeavouring to entice the Hindoo-maiden from her home. Again, (as Mr Atkinson has well observed,) "in a country where girls marry at 4 years of age, exchange then father's home for their husband's at 8, and are mothers at 12, it is not from schools that any great success can be anticipated." For many years to come it will only be possible, it appears to us, to reach the upper classes through the zenana, and any plan will miscarry which does not bring female education "within the *penetralia* of home."

The experiment of public schools for girls has now been fairly tried and though there has been a marvellous increase in the number of pupils, within a very short period, yet the social stratum from which the children are drawn remains at a constant level, and the instruction imparted is still of the most superficial kind. Taking the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, it appears that in 1859-60, there were eight schools in operation with an average attendance of 199 girls; "but their condition," observes the Director "does not lead me to regard our efforts, in behalf of female education through the medium of schools, as likely to be attended with any great success."

no ground whatever for this notion. The Deputy Inspector of Dacca, in reference to this matter, states that there is no foundation for this belief, except the tendency to impute dishonour to any woman who will consent at all to appear in public."

* He adds — "It is right to state, however, that Mr. Woodrow reports more favorably of two or three private schools in his division, founded and maintained by educated native gentlemen, ~~of the school and college?~~"

The schools in existence at this time are described as "nothing better than infant schools of an inferior class" In 1866-67, the number of girls' schools, including private house schools, conducted by zenana associations, amounted to 281, showing a very considerable increase in mere numbers during a period of eight years* This increase, it must be admitted, affords to the advocates of the present system a fair argument in its defence. But if, instead of considering the number of pupils, we examine the quality of the instruction imparted, it will be found that the progress is only apparent, and that no serious breach can have yet been made in those traditional beliefs which the women of India are taught to venerate. The Director in his Report for 1866-67, expresses his regret that "the education does not improve in proportion to the increase in the number of schools and pupils" Mr. Woodrow, one of the most zealous advocates of female school education, observes that "the standard of instruction attained is by no means so satisfactory as the increase of numbers:" and speaking of the future prospects of female education, he says.—"Custom among the Hindoos receives more observance than any deity of the Pantheon, and custom is against the education of women" The Deputy Inspector of Calcutta declares that, in the 85 girls' schools established in the Central Division, "the instruction is mostly of an elementary character, owing to the early age at which girls cease to attend school after their betrothal." He also asserts that most of the schools "are conducted in a way to reflect little credit upon the management. The stipulated expenditure is seldom adequate to the purpose for which the school is established, and even this expenditure is not always kept up." Mr. Clarke, the Inspector of the South-East Division, thus describes the female schools in his district:—"The female schools which I have seen consist, in general, of three to six infants sprawling about and inking

* The accompanying table will show the increase during each year.—

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Number of Schools.</i>	<i>Number of Pupils.</i>
1859-60	8	199
1860-61	16	395
1861-62	15	530
1862-63	35	1,183
1863-64	115	2,933
1864-65	174	4,064
1865-66	217	5,559
1866-67	281	6,531

* The year 1859-60 was the first of the present Director's incumbency

their fingers in copying letters upon strips of leaves. Sometimes one or two could attempt a very little reading”*. He adds:—“The giving of Government money to these can only be justified on the understanding that they are the beginning of a different system. If the girls are to be removed when they are eight or nine years old, and re-placed by other children of four or five years old, the matter may as well be given up” Mr. Medlicott, the late Inspector of the South-West Division, has, in the Report for 1862-63, recorded his impressions as to the general result of the movement in favour of female education, in the following terms.—“I have no doubt the movement in favour of girls’ schools is a very important one, but, as far as my experience goes, I am induced rather to admire the zeal of those reformers who so actively urge other people to send their girls to the schools than to attach much importance to the result of their labours” The best known and the most important of all the girls’ schools in Bengal is the one which was established in Calcutta in 1849, by the Hon. J. Drinkwater Bethune;† this school, from the advantages which it has all along enjoyed, may be fairly assumed to be greatly above the average both in the excellence of its teaching and the rank of its pupils, and we therefore think ourselves more

* Mr. Cluik describes four schools in his district in which very fair progress had been made these, therefore, will not come within the general class described above. The whole number of girls’ schools under inspection in the South-Eastern Division is 82.

† This school was opened in May 1849, having been built at the private expense of the Hon J Drinkwater Bethune at a cost of Rs. 60,000 Mr Bethune supported the school, paying above Rs. 600 a month, till his death in 1851. By his will the school was made over to Government, but pending the approval of the Court of Directors, Lord Dalhousie supported it, paying, for nearly five years, Rs. 7,929 a year for its maintenance from his own private purse. On Lord Dalhousie’s departure from India in 1856, the Government took it in hand. The monthly allowance for the establishment has been Rs. 617 a month. In the year 1855, being in a dying condition, it was, by the advice of Dr. Duff, put under the charge of a native committee with Mr Cecil Beadon as President, and Pundit Iswar Chunder Bidasagur as Secretary. It never had a vigorous life, and the imposition of a monthly fee of Re. 1 at the beginning of 1867 proved too much for its vitality. Matters reached a crisis at the end of the year, and the school has lately been put under the Director of Public Instruction. The school is now being carried on with an attendance of about 20 pupils, and there seems to be a probability of its collapsing altogether.

We are indebted for the information in this note to the kindness of a friend who is well conversant with all educational matters.

than justified in selecting it as a tolerably good specimen of its class. The following extracts from a report of Mr. Woodrow * will show what was the condition of the school in 1863-64. —“The school has enjoyed the advantage of excellent head-mistresses, but after fifteen years’ labour, the results are scarcely such as to give encouragement. The girls marry about 10 years of age, and cease attendance just at the age when their progress is most apparent. The little girls, when first admitted, are excessively irregular; they absent themselves for every trifling reason, and often without any reason at all. Consequently, as in all other girls’ schools, much time is lost in the first two years, and the majority of children are unable to read and understand even simple stories.” “Only 21 girls out of the 64 in attendance were accustomed to attach meaning to what they read. There are on the rolls 26 girls in the first three classes, 13 in the 4th, and 53 in the 5th and 6th. The last 53 girls never attempt to understand the meaning of their books. The 13 girls above them are in an intermediate state, and only 26 girls, who form the three higher classes, have attained to such a moderate knowledge of reading as may be practically useful in the ordinary concerns of life.” “The children do not seem to be drawn from the rich classes of society; for the recent order that children should pay for their books excited much opposition, and the hint that I gave of the expediency of imposing a small fee was unanimously opposed.” “The average cost to Government of each child in attendance in the Bethune School is about Rs. 10 a month.” “The sum raised by subscription last year for the Bethune School was nothing”† Such is the description of this school as given by one who, regarding the present system from a favourable point of view, would not be willing to exaggerate defects or to set down aught in malice.

If any considerable number of Hindoos are anxious to promote such a delusive kind of education as that which now

* Quoted by Mr. Atkinson in his Report for 1863-64. Miss Carpenter, it may be observed, has only availed herself to a very limited extent of the valuable reports which have issued from the Department of Public Instruction. Her account of the Bethune School is very unsatisfactory.

† The Mofussil residents, according to Mr. Woodrow, subscribe more liberally to the support of female schools than the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta.

appears to prevail throughout the girls' schools of Bengal, they are free to do so, though the advantage of such a course is by no means apparent; but the State would decidedly not be justified in appropriating the public revenues in order to develop a system which is regarded with aversion by the bulk of the nation, and which has not succeeded in gaining the approval of the very class for which it was intended.

If the Reports of the Directors of Public Instruction in Madras and Bombay be examined, a similar state of things will be disclosed in the sister Presidencies. Everywhere there is a steady increase in numerical strength, but everywhere there are the same complaints as to the irregularity of attendance, the extreme youth of the pupils, and the inefficiency of the instruction imparted. The Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, in his Report for 1866-67, makes the following remarks, with special reference to the exertions of Miss Carpenter — "In the course of the year under review, the question of female education received much discussion among the more enlightened Hindoos at the Presidency town. The subject has naturally, for many years past, engaged the attention of educated natives; but omitting the establishment of a few schools, in which elementary instruction is conveyed to girls of a tender age by male teachers, the result has been rather in word than in acts. A stimulus was afforded in connection with the subject by a visit from Miss Carpenter, whose philanthropic exertions in England to improve the more neglected sections of the community are well known. At several meetings, in which this lady took part, the following points were debated:—(1), Whether the time had arrived for Government to take a direct share in female education; and (2), if so, what is the direct work which it is advisable Government should undertake? In the discussions very conflicting views were put forward. It appeared, however, that the general feeling was that, at any rate, Government should not do more than establish a Normal School for training female teachers. Even action to this extent, which is what Miss Carpenter advocates, would involve tolerably heavy expenditure, according to that lady's scheme, while it is almost certain that, for some time to come, the results attained would be very small."

In maintaining, as we have done, that Hindoo society is not yet ripe for such a revolutionary scheme of female education as that contemplated by Miss Carpenter, we are yet far from wishing, even now, to discourage every attempt to improve the

existing state of things. Much can no doubt be accomplished without rudely demolishing the landmarks of the past. There are certain accomplishments which are useful and harmless under all special conditions, but these any educated native gentleman could himself secure for his wife and daughters. What is to be deprecated is any violent interference with time-honoured customs and traditions until the men of India have themselves acquired a body of ascertained beliefs, which will enable them to introduce into their homes a really renovating education, which, while it improves the intellect, will not harden or debase the heart, which, while increasing the strength of woman's character, may not destroy, but rather enhance, her natural tenderness. To accomplish the task here described, the men of India must exert *themselves*. Europeans cannot, as a rule, take the initiative in such a matter owing to their ignorance of the details of Hindoo life, and their utter want of sympathy with oriental habits and modes of thought. Europeans should be content to tender their advice when it is asked for, and should earnestly endeavour to master the complicated social problems that present themselves, so that their advice, when tendered, may command respect. Let the Hindoo state the problem, for he alone possesses the requisite data; and let him attempt its solution, guided occasionally by the larger experience of the European thinker.

It must be apparent even to the most superficial observer, that the English education now administered in our colleges is gradually revolutionising the intellectual condition of the men of India. That education is of a most searching character, and is thoroughly alien to the characteristic conceptions of Hindooism, as also to the spirit of its domestic institutions. The old theology of Brahmin priests has been replaced by the rational negativism of Europe as displayed in the 18th and 19th centuries; the inexact and highly coloured narratives of epic annalists have made room for the critical and sober history of later and more exacting writers, for the orderly *fasti* of Greece and Rome, for the lucid records of modern Europe; the wild and profitless metaphysics of Vedic commentators have yielded, though perhaps reluctantly, to the real and fruitful speculations of modern science. Of those who accept our training, the majority, it may be, welcome it simply as a stepping-stone to their advancement in life, but there are a few—and these form the *élite* of our pupils—who have higher aspirations, and who, penetrated with a deep sense of the insufficiency of Hindooism to meet the political and social exigencies of the future, are ready to proclaim themselves the apostles of reform,

the leaders of a movement which has for its ultimate object the complete renovation of the existing order. In the minds of all, however, whether the careless many or the earnest few, there may be observed an undisguised contempt for the beliefs of their forefathers and the traditions of the people. This feeling of contempt, so far as it rests upon a basis of reason, and is accompanied by a hearty desire for improvement, is not to be censured, but too often it is wholly unreasonable, and induces the youthful sceptic to include in the same category the good as well as the evil, that which is praiseworthy as well as that which is reprehensible. As an instance of the indiscriminate reprobation of the past in which young Hindoostan delights to indulge, we may adduce the language ordinarily held on the subject of caste. One who aspires to be a prophet among the people does not hesitate to write thus:—"That Hindoo castism is a frightful social scourge, no one can deny. It has completely and hopelessly wrecked social unity, harmony, and happiness, and for centuries it has opposed all social progress. But few seem to think that it is not so much as a social but as a religious institution that it has become the great scourge it really is. As a system of absurd social distinction, it is certainly pernicious. But when we view it on moral grounds, it appears a scandal to conscience, and an insult to humanity, and all our moral ideas and sentiments rise to execrate it, and to demand its immediate extermination."* Whatever truth there may be in the above description, the writer shows himself incapable of perceiving that the system which he stigmatises has some good features, and that, whatever may be its present deficiencies, it has rendered to mankind signal services in the past. Shallow scepticism must be regarded as one of the necessary evils of an education like ours, which is simply negative, and which rests upon no universally acknowledged moral basis. The enthusiasm and audacity of youth must always find an outlet, so that we cannot be surprised if, in a time of revolution, the young should flock with eagerness to swell the ranks of daring and superficial innovators, and that, perceiving nowhere

* This passage is quoted by Miss F. P. Cobbe in an article written by her on 'The Brahmo Somaj,' which appeared in *Fraser* (August 1866); It occurs in one of Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen's 'Appeals to young India. We wish it to be clearly understood that although we regard to many of the reforms advocated by the Progressive Brahmos as premature and ill-advised, still we have the greatest admiration for the zeal and ability of their young leader.

any fixed principles round which to rally, they should indulge in the brief ecstasy of unbounded freedom and indiscriminate license. The contrast continually presented to the young Hindóo between the intellectual world in which he mentally dwells, and the domestic environment amidst which his active life is spent, must be sometimes painful, and always bewildering. Such a state of things demands our sympathy instead of our scorn, and without pronouncing a harsh and unqualified verdict on what is unavoidable, we should endeavour to impress upon those who are educated how necessary it is that they should not rest satisfied with a system which must remain barren of really good results, until it can furnish a moral as well as a mental discipline, and can prove itself a safe guide for conduct, as well as a successful instrument for modifying opinions.

That the present mode of training can endure for many generations longer, we deem most improbable. A change of some kind must be effected, so that the lessons learnt from the mother's lips in early childhood may agree with, and supplement, the instruction imparted in after-years in the school or college. It becomes important therefore to ascertain, if possible, the probable nature of the system under which the future education of the Hindoos will be accomplished. There are those who feel confident that Christianity, under some form or other, will, in process of time, be voluntarily accepted by the people of India, but initiation into the science and literature of the west has hitherto kindled among the educated only a vague and useless admiration for the ethical precepts of the Gospel: no readiness has been displayed to accept its dogmatic basis, or to regard it as the supreme source of a nation's moral life. And if here and there an educated native has been induced to adopt our religion, the educated natives as a body have not failed to observe that the intellect of Europe in the aggregate is drifting away from Christianity, while the intellect of India stands coldly aloof from it. What is now therefore required is a system adapted to the peculiar needs and special idiosyncrasy of the Hindoo, which, dispensing with the old Vedic idea of revelation, shall rest upon a logical basis, and yet be such as to satisfy the moral requirements of man's nature. "It is necessary," says an eminent modern writer, "that moral education should be based both upon Reason and Feeling, the latter always having the preponderance. The result of the rational basis should be to bring moral precepts to the test of rigorous demonstration, and to secure

them from all danger against discussion by showing that they rest upon the laws of our individual and social nature. By knowing the laws, we shall be enabled to form a judgment of the influence of each affection, thought, action, or habit, be that influence direct or indirect, special or general, in private life or in public. Convictions based upon such knowledge will be as deep as any that are formed in the present day from the strictest scientific evidence, with that excess of intensity due to their higher importance and their close connection with our noblest feelings. Nor will such convictions be limited to those who are able to appreciate the logical value of the argument. We see constantly in other departments of positive science that men will adopt notions upon trust, and carry them out with the same zeal and confidence as if they were thoroughly acquainted with all the grounds of their belief. All that is necessary is that they should feel satisfied that their confidence is well bestowed. The most willing assent is yielded every day to the rules which mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, chemists, or biologists, have laid down in their respective arts, even in cases where the greatest interests are at stake. And similar assent will certainly be accorded to moral rules when they, like the rest, shall be acknowledged to be susceptible of scientific proof. But demonstration is not enough; for moral education, even in its more systematic parts, should rest principally on Feeling. The principal source of real morality must lie in the direct exercise of our social sympathies, whether systematic or spontaneous. No efforts must be spared to develop these sympathies from the earliest years by every method which sound philosophy can indicate. It is in this that moral education, whether private or public, must principally consist, and to it mental education must always be held subordinate."

Until the time has arrived when a discipline such as that here indicated shall be possible in India, Reason and Feeling must remain, as now, divorced, and the training received in early years must be sadly at variance with the principles imbibed in after-life. The great defect of our educational system in India—a defect which is for awhile unavoidable—is that it lays so much stress upon the intellectual element, while it positively destroys the only available *régime* under which feeling might receive at least an empirical discipline. Our educationists either fail to perceive that the intellect, when unrestrained by higher considerations, will abuse its power, or, if aware of the dangers incurred, they propose

remedies which are ineffectual, and which are not likely to be accepted by those to whom they are proffered. So long as the men of India cannot agree among themselves as to the nature of the moral discipline which ought to supplement the present secular training, so long must society be exposed to serious danger but this danger would be increased ten-fold if we were to tamper with the beliefs of the women, and were to succeed in destroying their instinctive conservatism, which is now the principal safeguard against the introduction of crude reforms and hastily conceived theories. We must be careful not to associate women with the revolutionary movement, until the work of reconstruction is fairly begun; for as the intellect of woman is far less energetic than that of man, she could reap but scant advantage from the highest *mental* culture, while her keen moral susceptibility would be blunted, and, amid the perplexing variety of opinions in which she would be entangled, her love and faith would assuredly suffer shipwreck. It is women who are now, and who must ever, continue to be the chief educators of the young, for that part of education which has the greatest influence upon life, namely, the spontaneous training of the feelings, belongs entirely to the mother. At present the teaching of the mother, in the case of men, is rendered nugatory by the destructive influences of an unhealthy negativism, acquired when the maternal influence has been withdrawn; but under a better state of things there should be no opposition between the lessons received in the family during childhood, and the more enlarged training of a later period. Hindooism is the only means that now exists for offering anything like a systematic moral discipline to both men and women, the discipline may be imperfect, but it is better than none, and until a fitting substitute can be found, it is important that its hold on the female mind should not be loosened, for to woman belongs peculiarly the task of upholding and practically enforcing the popular faith—a task she would not be fitted to perform if any doubt existed in her mind as to its logical validity. We maintain, therefore, that, if the women of India are to study English literature and acquire European accomplishments, the greatest care should be taken that no disturbing elements of a religious nature are introduced. Give them such education as is possible without undermining the source of their present beliefs, but on no account let them be exposed to the certain dangers which the men are now encountering, and

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which they cannot overcome except by sacrificing most of what they once regarded with implicit confidence and profound respect. Let the men first surmount the difficulties by which they are surrounded, and let them arrive at a definite basis of religion, before attempting to unfasten the hold of Hindooism upon the minds of the women. When a fitting substitute for Hindooism has been found, when it has at length become possible to reconcile reason and faith, then, and not till then, will it be advisable to lead the women of India into the full blaze of western civilization ; for then their husbands will have acquired convictions upon the most vital points, which their wives may innocently share with them, and which they will easily be induced to accept.

ART. II.—PORT CANNING AND ITS MUNICIPALITY.

THERE has of late been so much discussion on the subject of Port Canning—its past and future—that we may be pardoned if we attempt to avail ourselves of the interest, however transient it may be, which has recently been excited in its affairs, to make some comments on its Municipal administration, in the hope that they may prove neither uninteresting nor un instructive to our readers.

It is said of the clever Capuchins that they never essay to preach on the miracles or lives of any one of their saints until they have sufficiently excited the devotional feelings of their audience by the exhibition of some relic of him, be it only a tooth or a lock of his hair. On the same principle we wish to take advantage of the present opportunity for the introduction of a subject which possibly at any other time might not command so favourable a hearing.

We would wish it to be distinctly understood that we disclaim all design in this article of entering upon the merits of the internecine squabbles by which the Port Canning Company has of late most unfortunately been distracted. We have no intention of touching further upon these topics than is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the subject of which we treat. We propose rather to confine ourselves to an examination of the progress of the port in its administration by its Municipal Board, and to the results which have been achieved through its instrumentality—considering also how far the trust reposed in it has been justified, and whether an equivalent return has been realized for the very large expenditure which has been incurred, leaving it to our readers to draw their own conclusions after a consideration of the facts which we shall recapitulate for their information.

In the latter part of 1861, an application was addressed to the Government of Bengal by persons interested in the advancement of the Mutlah as an auxiliary port to Calcutta, for the appointment of a Municipal Commission, and it was suggested as expedient, in the interests of the new town of Canning, that this body should be principally composed of persons already holding land within the town and one or more Government official members.

To this proposition the Government of Bengal assented, and in 1862 a Committee was duly appointed under Act XXVI. of 1850. It was not, however, until early in the year 1863 that the proprietary rights of the Government were vested in this Committee, who were then appointed as trustees for the lands known as Lots 50 and 54, and so marked in the map of the Soonderbunds, known as "Captain Hodge's" chart. There were certain trifling reservations in this trust on which it is perhaps unnecessary to enter here, and which we have therefore omitted. Later in the year, the Government of Bengal, with the sanction of the Government of India, further declared these lots to be granted in freehold tenure to the Municipal Commissioners in trust for the town and port, and relinquished for ever all claim to land revenue for the lands so transferred.

The Committee, being entirely without funds with which to undertake the improvement of the town and port committed to their trust, at once applied to the Government for a loan of two lakhs of rupees for the purpose. This, however, the Government then declined to grant, but, recognizing the difficulties with which the Commissioners had to contend, suggested that a public loan should be opened on the security of the land which had been vested in the Commissioners, and authorized the framing of certain rules with this view, which, it was directed, should also regulate the grant of leases by the Committee.

As some delay ensued in determining the terms of this loan, and obtaining the Government sanction to those it was ultimately proposed to offer, it was only in November of the same year that it was brought before the public; and it soon became evident that it would neither command the success which had at first been anticipated, nor the confidence of the general public, who, it would seem from their reluctance to purchase the Debentures, at that time took but little interest in the scheme.

To the offer of this loan, which was for no less a sum than ten lakhs of rupees, tendered at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest per annum on the security of Municipal Debentures, which were made redeemable in five years by the Commissioners, there was little or no response, and but two lakhs and sixty-five thousand rupees were subscribed.

Failing in this expedient, the Commissioners appear again to have addressed the Government, representing the difficulties of

their position, and entreating that an advance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs might be granted for the improvement of the town upon the same security. To this request, however, the Government still declined to accede. It is apparent from the above that up to the beginning of the year 1864 no very active measures had been taken by the Government of Bengal in the advancement of the interests of the port further than the grant in freehold tenure of the land required, and the authorization to open a public Debenture Loan upon the security which it afforded, with this exception, however, that it was upon the recommendation of Sir Cecil Beadon, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the Government of India was induced to come forward, in July 1864, with a proposal to grant to the Commissioners the $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs for which application had previously been made, on condition of a further sum of $15\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs being subscribed by the general public, it being held that this would afford substantial proof of the soundness of the undertaking and of the confidence of the mercantile community of Calcutta in the ultimate success of the scheme. In spite of the publicity given to this proposal, it is needless to say that no greater success attended it, the conditions being such as to virtually debar the Municipality from the aid proffered. The Commissioners were still unable to increase the amount already subscribed, and the scheme which had been languishing since 1861 hardly appears to have been in any way in a more advanced state towards the close of the year 1864.

It is a point worthy of note that although early in the year 1863 it was considered sufficient to ask for the loan of two lakhs from the Government, that proposed to be raised at the end of the same year from the public was ten lakhs; failing which, the advance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs only was demanded from the Government. Yet in 1864 it was considered by the Government of India—upon what data it is not sufficiently apparent—that less than 20 lakhs would not suffice to effect any permanent improvements in the town and port.

But it is from August 1864 that the great change in the prospects of Port Canning may be said to date.

In that month Act III. of 1864, known as the District Municipal Improvement Act, was extended to Mutlah, and the Municipality was re-constituted under its provisions, the Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs for the time being, becoming Ex-Officio Chairman of the new Board of Commissioners, while Mr. Ferdinand Schiller, of the firm of Messrs. Borthadaile, Schiller, and Company, was offered, and accepted the office of Vice-Chairman, which was

then an honorary and not a salaried appointment. Under Section 5 of Act III. of 1864, the property, vested in the former Municipal Committee under Act XXVI. of 1850, became vested in the Municipal Commissioners appointed under this Act: but otherwise no important changes were immediately involved.

Shortly after his appointment as Vice-Chairman to the Municipal Committee, Mr. Schiller, in his individual capacity, addressed a letter to the Chairman of that Board, stating that it was his intention to form at an early date a Company for the purpose of carrying out certain public works in connection with Port Canning, which would materially promote its speedy development. On this ground he solicited that certain concessions should be granted to him by the Municipality, and engaged, in the event of their being so ceded, to undertake the excavation of a dock for country-boats, and further to subscribe Rs. 2,50,000 to the Municipal Debenture Loan at Rs. 15 per cent. discount, the rate at which it was still open to public subscription, on condition, however, that it should at once be closed.

The proposal made by Mr. Schiller in November was subsequently, it appears, somewhat modified by that gentleman in the following month, his principal demands in the first instance having been as follows:—

1. The gift in free-hold of 100 acres (300 beegahs) of ground in the centre of the town.

2. The exclusive right of constructing tramways required by the Municipality from time to time.

3. The conservancy of the river bank (facing the Mutlah Strand Road) with the right to levy such taxes in connection with it as the Commissioners would sanction, and the power to provide landing accommodation.

The concessions above proposed were of course made subject to Mr. Schiller's complying with the self-imposed conditions which we have already enumerated.

The subsequent modifications to which we have also referred were principally—

- 1st.—That the right of constructing wharves, jetties, and tramways throughout the town and port should be limited to a term of 50 years.

- 2nd.—That a division should be made in the revenue receivable therefrom; and that, after allowing a reasonable sum for current expenditure and interest at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum upon the capital invested, the balance should be

divided in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third between the constructors of the works and the Municipality respectively.

3rd.—That on the expiry of the 50 years, the concession should revert to the Municipality, should its cancelment be claimed on payment of the actual expenditure or cost price of the works.

4th.—That the right and free use of the river bank between the Strand Road and low water mark should be conceded, and the erection of open store-sheds permitted, the Municipality reserving to itself the right to first reserve and select passenger ghauts.

5th.—That the Municipality should reserve the power of refusing permission to any works about to be undertaken, but that they should have no power to compel such to be undertaken as would not promise a return of a minimum profit of 10 per cent. on the outlay necessary.

6th.—That the Municipality should retain the right of fixing every ten years the minimum charge (one shilling per ton) leviable upon shipping visiting the port—on such a scale, however, that the minimum return on capital invested should be not less than 10 per cent per annum.

7th.—That the construction of trainways be confined in the first instance to connecting shipping with the more important trade centres within the town, then working to be confided entirely to the contractors or their assignees, and such rates to be charged as would yield a minimum profit of 5 per cent. per annum net on the capital invested

It was also stipulated that on the concessionaire or his assignees refusing to undertake the construction of any such lines, they might be undertaken at discretion by the Municipality by means of such agency as they might see fit, provided that if given to others, it should not be upon better terms than those offered to the present concessionaire. The 100 acres of ground demanded were asked as free-hold in perpetuity, and the offer was made conditional on its acceptance within six months. A legal document embodying the concessions asked for was to be given on payment of five lakhs of rupees to the bankers of the concessionaire or his assignees for this purpose, in addition to the two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees which it was agreed should be subscribed to the Municipal Debenture Loan.

In the crippled state of their finances, these overtures were most favorably received by the Commissioners. A Sub-Com-

mittee was at once formed to consider the proposals of Mr Schiller, and the result of their deliberations was the adoption of his offer with some slight modifications, subject of course to the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In January 1865, the report of the Sub-Committee having first been approved and adopted, at a general meeting of the Commissioners, and agreed to by Mr Schiller himself, was forwarded for the approval of the Government of Bengal: and it may not be out of place to quote from the letter of the Chairman, to the Commissioners (Mr. H. A. Cockerell) his views in forwarding the proposal which he accompanied with a strong recommendation for its favorable consideration, these views being probably those held at the time by a large number of persons in Calcutta, both among the official and non-official sections of the community.

The importance of Port Canning as an auxiliary to that of Calcutta is now generally acknowledged both by the Government and the commercial community of Calcutta, but a difference of opinion exists as to where the capital is to come from to carry out works of primary necessity to the very existence of the town of Canning, which, without drainage, with but few roads, with imperfect means of communication, without jetties, and other landing facilities, is not in a position to attract shipping to the port, or an expenditure of capital on the town.

The Commissioners have endeavoured, by opening a loan, to raise capital to carry out works of the most urgent importance, but, owing to various causes, have failed in obtaining the amount they required. An application for assistance was made to the Government of Bengal, but the conditions imposed by the Government of India, in Colonel Strachey's letter of the 14th July 1864, virtually debar the Municipality from the aid offered.

Mr Schiller, the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, whose interest in Port Canning is known to the Government of Bengal, has now come forward and offered, on certain conditions, to carry out extensive works of the utmost utility to the port, and in addition to subscribe a considerable sum to the Municipal Loan. The conditions agreed on between this gentleman and the Commissioners are stated at length in the enclosed draft, and cannot, in the opinion of the Commissioners, be considered otherwise than favorable to the Municipality. The Commissioners mortgage two remote sources of income, in the development of which it is not probable that they would be

“able to expend any considerable amount of capital for some years to come; but in return for these concessions they obtain an immediate subscription of £25,000 to the Municipal Loan, and the prospect of sharing in the profit of the undertakings executed by Mr. Schiller when the returns exceed a certain percentage on the capital expended. The Commissioners have reserved to themselves the right of purchasing the works after the lapse of the terms of years for which the concessions are granted.

“The execution of such works as those proposed by Mr. Schiller will tend to an enhancement in value of the landed property in the town, and will enable the Commissioners hereafter to levy with advantage the taxes they are empowered to impose under the District Municipal Improvement Act III. of 1864.

* * * * *

- “In conclusion, I beg to urge strongly on the Government the acceptance of the proposed concessions, as offering the only means of carrying out certain great public works of the most immediate necessity, and of relieving the Municipality of a heavy expenditure, which their funds are quite inadequate to meet, whilst at the same time they place at the disposal of the Municipality for those works, the execution of which more immediately devolves on it, a considerable sum of money which it is not likely to obtain from any other source. I have no doubt that the execution of such works as those proposed, by a powerful Joint Stock Company, will not fail to attract capital to the town, and, whilst I hope giving a fair profit to those interested in the scheme, will tend to increase the prosperity of Canning, to foster a rising port, and, by so doing, prove of the utmost importance to the daily increasing commerce of the whole of Lower Bengal.

The draft deed of concessions, thus submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, was fully approved by that officer, who duly sanctioned their acceptance by the Commissioners, in the following terms:—

“His Honor thinks that this scheme affords a fair and reasonable prospect of the port of Canning being placed at once in a satisfactory condition, and it gets over the difficulties as to funds for the public works necessary to the establishment of the port, which have hitherto retarded its progress; and the Lieutenant-Governor sees no other prospect at present of doing what is requisite.

“ These concessions, which the Commissioners propose to make, seem altogether unobjectionable, and not in any way incommensurate with the benefits which the Commissioners will derive in return.

“ It will be necessary to provide that if the docks and other works are not completed within two years, or such further period as may be allowed in extension by the Commissioners, or if at any time the land is diverted to purposes other than those for which it is granted, it shall lapse to the Commissioners.

“ When the Commissioners’ right to re-purchase the docks comes to be considered, the value of the land on which the docks are situated should be omitted from the account.”

The concessions finally determined on, we shall hereafter have occasion to quote

It is extremely difficult to understand under what circumstances, at this period of the proceedings, the provisions of Section 23 of Act III of 1864 were overlooked, for it is but too evident that they were so. The Section quoted runs thus:—

“ No Municipal Commissioner or servant of the Commissioners shall be interested directly or indirectly in any contract made with the Commissioners; and if any such person shall be so interested, he shall thereby become incapable of continuing in office or in employment, and shall be liable to a fine of 500 Rupees provided always that no person by being a shareholder in, or member of, any Incorporated or Registered Company, shall be disqualified from acting as a Commissioner by reason of any contract entered into between such Company and the Commissioners.

“ Nevertheless, it shall not be lawful for such shareholder or member to act as a Commissioner in any matter relating to any contract entered into between the Commissioners and that Company.”

It is not our intention to enter here at length upon the irregularity we have noticed. That the concessionaire was a Commissioner and Vice-Chairman of the Board at the time both of his application for the concessions and of their eventual grant to him, there can be no question.

It has been argued that it was at the time a matter of public notoriety that a Company was in course of formation to whom the concessionaire proposed to assign his concessions if he had not already so assigned them : but we see reason to doubt whether in this instance such a reply would be admissible. It was with

Mr. Schiller and not with the Company that the Commissioners were then in treaty, and we are on the whole inclined to think, though we would speak with diffidence upon a point upon which it would be rash to pronounce a positive judgment without a much longer and closer investigation, that the only possible plea which could be urged in this case to justify the irregularity would be the fact that the Commissioners as a body were to be admitted to participate in a share of the profits which, it was anticipated, would accrue were they in excess of a certain fixed ratio, and which was determined in advance in the body of the deed of concessions, *caveat emptor*.

The sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor having been obtained to the deed of concessions to Mr. Schiller, it was signed at a general meeting of the Commissioners, held on the 14 March 1865, three of the five Commissioners then present at the meeting being also at the time Directors of the new Port Canning Company. The concessionaire was also present, and duly executed the deed on his own behalf, and in his individual capacity.

A further irregularity in the proceedings is here apparent, which we cannot pass over without notice. In consequence of the formal conveyance from the Government to the Commissioners themselves not having been executed at the time or until the 6th September following, it became necessary to remedy this anomaly and to re-execute this deed in favour of the concessionaire, the deed now in force, consequently, bears a much later date, *viz.*, 3rd November 1865.

It further appears that the deed of conveyance of the land for the dock to Mr. Schiller was executed on the previous day (2nd November), but another deed of re-conveyance of the same from the concessionaire to the Port Canning Company for the nominal sum of ten rupees, and to which the Chairman of the Municipal Board was made a party, was executed on the day following. This conveyance to the original concessionaire, we observe, had been stipulated for both in the original and final deeds of concessions executed.

Again, although the payment of the 2½ lakhs of rupees promised by the concessionaire was not made to the Municipal Commissioners by him, but by a cheque drawn by two of the Directors of the Port Canning Company, and the receipt for the same was granted to that Company, and not to the concessionaire, no attention appears at the time to have been drawn to this informality, and no exception to have been taken to an irregularity which should certainly not have passed with-

out comment We should not omit to note that it is for those concessions that Mr. Schuller (it is asserted by the present Directors of the Port Canning Company) received no less a sum than Rs 3,60,000 To this point, we learn from the correspondence before us, that some importance has been attached by the present Direction of the Port Canning Company, who are desirous of obtaining a re-execution of this deed of concessions in favour of the Company on the ground of the payment having been made by the Company, and not by the concessionaire; but we believe this will prove to be eventually erroneous, for, as we have already shown, the Directors for the time being were fully cognizant of the fact that the original deed of concessions was granted to Mr. Schiller as concessionaire, and whatever may have been the arrangements between the Company and that gentleman, there can be no question but that it was distinctly contemplated both by the Municipality and the Government that the concession should be to him and not to the Company. To argue such a point as this would, we opine, therefore, be mere supererogation

To return to our subject. The final terms of concession to which we have above alluded, and as submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, were as follows, and the deeds eventually drawn and executed were, with some slight modifications, in accordance with them. As we have given those offered by the concessionaire, a reference to them will at once show in what points it was thought by the Commissioners necessary that alterations and revisions should be made. The variations are, however, not very material, and will easily be detected :—

“ The gift in free-hold of 100 acres of the Commissioners’ property situated in the centre of the town.”

“ The concessionaire or his assignees, in consideration of these concessions, to engage to excavate, within a period of two years from the date of these presents, a dock on the said land (for the reception of country-boats) not less than 2,500 feet by 200 feet in width and 10 feet in depth.

“ The Commissioners to grant to the concessionaire or his assignees for 50 years the exclusive right of constructing tramways in such direction as may be required by the Municipality, under the following conditions, namely :—

“ No tramway to be placed on any line of road without the consent of the Commissioners. Should the concessionaire or his assignees, when called upon, refuse to undertake any line of tramway, the Commissioners to have authority to give the

" execution of the work to any other person or persons on terms not more favourable than those refused by the concessionaire or his assignees.

" That the rates to be charged for passengers or traffic on tramways constructed by the concessionaire or his assignees under the above terms, be fixed from time to time by the Commissioners in concert with the concessionaire or his assignees. The rates to be so fixed as not to give less than 5 per cent per annum on the capital invested (the Commissioners, be it well understood, not guaranteeing any profits). Whenever the profits accruing from the above tramway, after allowing a fair and equitable charge for maintenance (to be fixed, if necessary, by arbitration, as hereinafter provided), shall exceed a return of 8 per cent on the capital invested, the surplus to be divided between the Commissioners and the concessionaire or his assignees in the proportion of one-third to the former and two-thirds to the latter. At the expiration of 50 years, the Municipality to have the right of purchasing the materials, stock, and machinery of the above tramway at the cost at which the said works, machinery, and stock, might be replaced, provided such value be not less than the proved original cost of the works, stock, and machinery then in existence, to be decided in case of dispute by arbitration, as hereinafter provided.

" The concessionaire or his assignees to have no right under the above concessions to obstruct or impede the ordinary traffic on the roads of the Municipality.

" No locomotive engine to be used on any of the above tramways without the sanction of the Commissioners

" The Commissioners to have the power to fix what portion of the road shall be occupied by the tramway.

" The concessionaire or his assignees bind themselves to undertake for 50 years the conservation and protection of the river bank, along the entire length of the Commissioners' property facing the Mutlah River, guaranteeing an equal width of fore-shore with that existing at the time of concession, in consideration of which the Commissioners grant to the concessionaire or his assignees the right of constructing wharves, jetties, and such landing and shipping facilities as may be determined on by the concessionaire or his assignees under sanction of the Municipal Commissioners. The above concessions not to be considered to apply to the right of the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway Company to make such use of

“ their present jetties and landing facilities as they may think proper.

“ No work to be undertaken by the concessionaire or his assignees without the approval of the Commissioners.

“ The Commissioners to have the right of fixing, from time to time, the maximum charges to be levied on all goods passing over the fore-shore, jetties, and wharves of the concessionaire or his assignees

“ The Commissioners to have the right of fixing what places along the fore-shore, and what breadth of land shall be reserved for public landing and bathing ghauts, such ghauts to be public highways exempt from all toll by the concessionaire or his assignees, but not to be used as ghauts for landing goods, merchandize, &c

“ Whenever the profits accruing from the above works, after allowing fair and equitable charge for maintenance (to be fixed, if necessary, by arbitration, as hereinafter provided), shall exceed a return of 10 per cent. upon the capital invested, the surplus to be divided between the Commissioners and the concessionaire or his assignees in the proportion of one-third to the former and two-thirds to the latter.

“ At the expiration of 50 years, the Municipality to have the right of purchasing the completed works and their appurtenances at the cost at which the said works, machinery, and stock, might be replaced and re-constructed, such value being not less than the proved original cost of the works, stock, and machinery then in existence, to be decided in case of dispute by arbitration, as hereinafter provided for. But should the Commissioners at the expiry of the said period of 50 years not be prepared to purchase from the concessionaire or his assignees, as aforesaid, then the concessionaire to be entitled to an extension of the term for 25 years more on the condition of these presents.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees engage to subscribe, on the receipt of the document granting these concessions, or within three months from that date, £25,000 to the Municipal Debenture Loan, at 15 per cent. discount, on the condition that it be closed at present.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees also undertake to pay £50,000 into his or their banker previous to the receipt of the legal document embodying these concessions.

“ Lastly, the Commissioners and the concessionaire or his assignees mutually consent, in the event of any dispute arising as to the interpretation or settlement of the foregoing agree-

“ment or any portion thereof, to refer the same to the decision of two arbitrators to be chosen by the said parties thereto, and in the event of their not agreeing, then the Government of Bengal to be solicited to appoint a third arbitrator or referee, whose decision shall be final.

In subscribing to the Municipal Debenture Loan to the extent of two and a half lakhs of rupees in March 1865, an application was made by Messrs. Borradaile, Schuller, and Company, on behalf of the Port Canning Company, of which they had been appointed Secretaries and Treasurers, to commute the same under the original terms of the loan (Article 5) for land in the town of Canning. The lots selected were principally those adjacent to the proposed new dock, and such other lots near to the Railway or in other desirable situations, belonging to the Commissioners, as would be equivalent to the amount of loan subscribed by the Port Canning Company. Those specially selected appear to have been Lots 148 to 153, 162 to 164, 83 and 84, 199 to 233, and 169, representing in value Rs. 2,04,928 of the loan.

And here we cannot refrain from confessing our hearty disapprobation to the carelessness so frequently incurred by the Commissioners in their dealings with the Company. The Commissioners do not appear to have replied to this offer, but would seem from their subsequent proceedings, to have considered the lots applied for as transferred, and at the disposal of the Company. The leases were not, it seems, ever completed; nor were the Debentures held by the Company returned—an omission, of which it is difficult to provide an explanation. It was not until September of the same year that a letter was addressed to the Port Canning Company by the Municipal Board, calling attention to these facts, and intimating that, under the circumstances, the Commissioners could not be held liable for any interest which might accrue on the amount of loan represented by these lots, and that they would look to the Company in future for payment of the rental due upon them.

The Company appear also to have been requested to select other lots, in order to make up the redemption of the entire sum subscribed by them to the loan, and notice was given that the Commissioners repudiated all liability to pay interest on the amount subscribed by the Canning Company, or, in fact, to repay the loan, except in grants of lands as applied for by the Company, which, we have omitted to state, had, under the original terms of the Debenture Loan, the right of prior selection

of the lots secured to them, owing to their having been the first applicants for it

Under an agreement made with Mr. Schiller, however, it was arranged, that the exchange for land should be deferred until the due date of the Debentures, thus involving the payment of interest by the Municipality to the Port Canning Company, which was to be met by a quit-rent payable upon the lots selected, and equivalent to the interest due upon the Debentures, until the redemption into freehold tenure should be completed. In accordance with this proposal, 41 lots in all were reserved for the Company by the Commissioners : 17 to the south and 24 to the north of the Railway station, their value being deemed by the Commissioners equivalent to Rs. 3,05,407 of the loan, calculated at Rs. 1,200 per beegah, freehold. The position of the Commissioners, therefore, in regard to this transaction is briefly this.—

The Debentures being transferable by endorsement, their transfer to other holders would entitle purchasers or mortgagees to claim in full both principal and interest from the Commissioners, who would merely retain a claim against the Company for the amount. The completion of the contract was, therefore, of so much importance, that, if necessary, even legal proceedings to enforce the fulfilment of its engagement by the Company should undoubtedly long since have been instituted.

Numerous other applications, it appears, were also at the time made by Debenture-holders to commute the Debentures held by them for land in the town. Of these, freehold tenures to the extent of Rs. 59,400, and leasehold to the extent of Rs. 28,200, have been commuted by the Commissioners : but this is all ; and of the total issue of the loan Rs. 4,98,500, a balance of Rs. 4,10,900 yet remains on the hands of the Commissioners, applications to commute to the extent of Rs. 2,87,880 having been allowed to remain thus undisposed of, many of which it will now be impossible to enforce ; whereas, had the most ordinary care been evinced, but Rs. 1,23,020 of the loan would have remained to be met at due date.

The Municipal Debenture Loan having, upon the completion of the arrangements with Mr. Schiller, been closed, as stipulated in March 1865, at about 5½ lakhs of rupees, the Commissioners, in submitting their annual estimate to Government for the year 1866, again found themselves without funds to meet future expenditure, and again applied to the Government for the further sum of 4½ lakhs of rupees to raise their loan to the ori-

ginal amount for which it was opened, on the ground that the condition stipulated by the Government before mentioned had been practically complied with by the public and mercantile community having subscribed upwards of 60 lakhs to the Port Canning Company for similar purposes. This application was attended with success, and the Government of India promised to advance the money required from time to time without interest, on the security of the Commissioners' property, re-payable of course within five years. The transaction was duly completed in May 1866.

Having now fairly launched the Municipal Commission, we shall proceed to consider generally the advantages which have resulted from its introduction, the good effected by its agency, the expenditure of the funds placed at its disposal, and various other subjects in direct connection with it.

Judging from the evidence before us, we find little cause for satisfaction at the progress made in the advancement of the interests of the port or for congratulation in the permanent advantages conferred on the town; and we are inclined to pronounce that such an institution was not at the time needed, and should not have been introduced without more mature consideration. Whether, however, the Municipality should now be abolished or not, is a different question.

It is necessary to remember that the world is tolerably full of institutions, which ought never to have been set up, yet which, having once been so, ought not to be rudely pulled down, and that it is often wise in practice to be content with the mitigation of an abuse of which, were we to look at it in the abstract, we might be impatient to recommend the demolition.

The best things may be misused, and we think this has been so in the case of Municipalities in Bengal; but were we to abolish all institutions misapplied, all customs warped from their true aim, what a fragment of society should we retain? The power of a Municipality for good or evil is undoubtedly very great, and we believe that with improved laws, but above all with sounder supervision, such bodies may yet become of great service to this country, developing, as they necessarily must, the faculty of self-government said to be inherent in all men, and requiring merely cultivation and training. But we cannot but regret that the Government after having, as we have shown, repeatedly refused to take part in the undertaking of Port Canning, should have eventually been induced to give way. We fully admit that there are many unremunerative works of public

benefit which would never be undertaken by private enterprise. No body of men can be expected to invest their money in any undertaking, but from an expectation that the result will be ultimately profitable to themselves, and as works are only profitable, for which the public are willing to pay, a direct and obvious connexion is established between the motive for the work and its utility, which can never be the case where Government is concerned, and where no return is looked for.

Let us first examine the funds which have been at the disposal of the Commissioners from time to time throughout the period under review, and endeavour to ascertain, from such information as has been published, which we must admit is extremely scanty and unsatisfactory, upon what they have been expended. In this there is some difficulty: and though we have had access to some valuable sources of information upon this and other points, which have not as yet been opened to the general public, we cannot but admit the feeling that the real history of Port Canning is but imperfectly known.

The intimate connection of the Commissioners with the Port Canning Company, an association which the former have had but too much subsequent occasion to regret, cannot but be considered as having been most prejudicial to the interests of the town, resulting as it has in mal-administration and false economy; and in justice to Mr Bainbridge, who succeeded Mr. Cockerell as Ex-Officio Chairman of the Municipal Board, we must state that it was he who first fully recognized the importance of the evil, and gave to it a most prominent place in his report to Government for the year 1865-66, in the words which we quote — "I must, more especially as I am leaving office, draw attention to the evils of the joint system hitherto adopted between the Municipal Commissioners and the Port Canning Company. It is true their ultimate object is identical, but their immediate interests very frequently are not connected, and often antagonistic." * * I think that the results shown in this report prove that the system has been mistaken, and not economical." Mr Bainbridge's loss to the Municipality appears to have been a serious one, as he personally took great interest in the advancement of the port, and devoted to it both time and energy, which in the multiplicity of other duties it is extremely difficult for the Magistrate of so important a district as the 24-Pergunnahs to spare.

The proceedings of the Commissioners as a Board, we cannot refrain from remarking, have been characterized throughout by a

marked vacillation of purpose. The connection of the Commissioners with the Port Canning Company most undoubtedly exercised, as we have shown, great influence over their actions, and must, to a certain extent, have fettered their movements. but even this would fail to explain their irresolution in several important matters calling for prompt and decisive action on their part. Afraid of disoblighing the Port Canning Company, suspicious of the censure of the local press, apprehensive of being thought factious, if opposing expenditure proposed by their Executive, and of being thought prodigal and reckless in sanctioning it, afraid of every thing, but most of being known to be afraid of every thing, they appear to have wavered, faltered, and struggled on undecided as to the soundness of their own opinions and doubtful of accepting those of others

Let us proceed to consider the funds at the disposal of the Commissioners for the years 1864-65, 1865-66, 1866-67, and 1867-68, as given in the Annual Administration Reports for these years, submitted to Government by the Chairman of the Board. The periods covered are of course the respective official years; in the case of the last mentioned year, however, the report comprises 11 months only. Glancing hastily over the reports of progress shown in the realization of income, one would be apt to be misled by the figures given, as denoting the progressive income of each year. A closer examination discloses more correctly the actual results attained. We give a concise abstract of the receipts of each year in the annexed tabular statement, from which it will be seen that the Municipality has had at its disposal during the four years under review no less a sum than Rs. 8,84,875, including both the Government loan (4 lakhs of which has been paid to the Commissioners) and Rs. 3,72,585, the proceeds realized of the Municipal Debenture Loan.—

	Year 1864-65.	Year 1865-66	Year 1866-67	Year 1867-68	TOTAL.
RECEIPTS.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
As shown by Annual Administration Re- ports ...	3,51,970	3,32,042	3,65,910	2,43,862	12,93,784
Actual receipts from all sources during the year, (excluding Cash Balances in hand at its commencement)...	3,09,259	60,351	3,43,358	1,24,276	8,27,244
Actual income exclud- ing Government and Debenture Loans ...	13,194	39,531	37,858	24,076	1,14,659

On looking more closely into the nature of the receipts we have shown in the columns of actual income, we find several which are undoubtedly susceptible of question; if regarded as sources of income

These latter have been divided by the reports into two heads, "Land Revenue" and "Miscellaneous," in the proportions given—

	1864-65	1865-66.	1866-67	1867-68.	TOTAL.
Land Revenue ...	11,819	16,989	11,729	4,711	45,248
Miscellaneous ...	1,374	22,552	25,138	19,664	68,728

The decrease of Rs. 5,421 in the land revenue of the year 1866-67 is accounted for by the Commissioners by the fact of the redemption of some lots into fee simple having been completed during the year, and to the large balance of uncollected outstandings at its close. The farther falling off in the follow-

ing year is also treated generally as resulting from the same causes, but the damage caused to the crops by the cyclone is urged as a reason for the inability of the ryots to meet their rents on due dates, necessitating an arrangement which will permit of the extension of the period of payments over another year, during which instalments of arrear will be receivable.

The Commissioners, it should be mentioned, have power to resume possession of lots after rent has remained for a certain time unpaid, but they appear to have hesitated to enforce their right to do so, being perhaps doubtful of the advantages of such a step.

The miscellaneous receipts credited in the reports appear on examination to be principally building and security deposits, suspense accounts, refunds and transfers from brick-making and other charges, &c., &c.,—items which can scarcely be considered as legitimate sources of income.

Space, however, will not admit of our going farther into the fallacy of the increase shown in the annual income of the Commissioners up to 1866-67, even if our inclination so served. We have already shown with sufficient clearness the fact that the only receipts of any magnitude have been those from the Government and Debenture Loans, both of which having now been almost exhausted, the Commissioners find themselves in a far worse financial position than at the commencement of their operations, for we note that the present year 1868-69 was commenced with a balance of about Rs. 15,000 only in hand and a credit of Rs. 50,000, the fifth and last instalment payable by the Government of India of the promised loan of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Rupees. It is apparent, moreover, that the petty receipts from land revenue and other sources have steadily declined; that the value of local property has very largely deteriorated, and that, owing to the neglect of the Commissioners to consummate the arrangement under which the commutation of Debentures for land in the town had been agreed upon, a very large number of these, as we have shown, still remain upon their hands to be redeemed at maturity, and at a time when the land has merely a nominal value, and would not of course be accepted in commutation, the more so that having been for five years only, the date of maturity of the majority of the Debentures is not distant. Whether in the face of these facts the lavish scale of expenditure incurred has been justifiable is a point which we leave to our readers. Nor do we propose to enter farther here into the financial prospects of future years, dependent as they are possibly on

so many extraneous considerations. So long as the advances have lasted, there appears to have been little thought of the future, and it is only when, after hoping against hope, the Commissioners are eventually brought fairly face to face with the difficulties of their position by the complete exhaustion of their finances, that they reluctantly recognize the necessity for a reduction of a profitless expenditure of money, for which they are paying at the rate of 5½ per cent in interest, and which is absolutely yielding no return whatsoever.

But let us proceed to consider the works to which these funds have been devoted, and the results achieved in the reclamation and improvement of Port Canning by all this enormous outlay. In doing so, we are forced to admit, though not without regret, that its similitude in many respects to Mr. Dickens's humorous description of Eden in "*Martin Chuzzlewit*," recurs frequently and most vividly to our memory.

The gross expenditure of the past four years has amounted to Rs. 8,65,037, or an average of about Rs. 2,16,200 per annum. It has not, however, been equally distributed, the amount spent each year having been as follows :—

Year 1864-65 ...	...	Rs. 80,289
„ 1865-66...	...	„ 3,09,489
„ 1866-67...	...	„ 2,46,324
„ 1867-68...	...	„ 2,28,933

We give an abstract of the expenditure according to its classification in the annual reports :—

	Year 1864-65	Year 1865-66.	Year 1866-67	Year 1867-68	TOTAL.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
General Charges ...	11,213	34,093	43,298	31,975	1,20,579
Expenses of Collection	2,439	2,413	261	240	5,353
Medical Charges ...	532	1,999	7,037	3,696	13,258
Interest and Discount ..	3,150	17,800	23,065	10,213	54,228
Expenses on Works ...	55,376	2,20,049	1,40,064	1,37,086	5,52,575
Miscellaneous ..	7,576	33,138	31,165	43,845	1,15,724
Police ...	...	..	1,432	7,874	3,306

Accepting the above as correct, let us look more closely into the larger items of General charges, Works, and Miscellaneous, which have absorbed the larger share of the expenditure, omit-

ting the minor and less important items, and merely remarking that no less a sum than Rs. 54,228 has been already paid in interest and discount by the Commissioners for the use of the money thus expended during the past four years. We find the term "General charges" comprises only the salary of the Chairman's Office Establishment, Vice-Chairman, and Engineer, with the ordinary office miscellaneous contingencies. Yet the charges under this head alone exceed an average of Rs. 30,000 per annum, on an average yearly expenditure of Rs. 2,76,000. This would certainly appear an excessive percentage upon the outlay on the works that have been executed.

These appear to have been principally roads, drainage, bunds, embankments, and tanks, for we do not find that any large permanent buildings have been erected.

In the matter of roads, the late cyclone is said to have much to answer for, the metal laid on some of them having been, it is asserted, washed away by the storm-wave which literally swept over Port Canning. Twenty miles of road had been laid out, of which about seven have been metalled and completed.

It is difficult, from the manner in which the accounts are compiled, to frame any idea of the cost of this work; but we note that though during the past year the metalling was not extended to any new roads, the cost, therefore, of repairing those existing, is shown during the year to have amounted to no less than Rs. 64,182, or nearly Rs. 10,000 per mile. Taking the rough figures given, however, as correct, the expenditure on these roads, including the cost of brick-making, has been upwards of Rs. 2,05,000. This does not include the stock and store account of the Engineer, drainage of roads, planting of trees, or other such charges.

Nor is the necessity for these roads apparent. It is not asserted that there ever has been any traffic upon them, and the majority of them terminate abruptly in the jungle, and each might with justice be compared to the straight road of world-wide celebrity as leading only to destruction—the only use hitherto made of them having apparently been by the Municipal servants themselves in the conveyance of metal over one road for the repairs of another.

Nor has the drainage of the town been less expensive; for we find that Rs. 1,14,675 has been debited to this head alone. As the success of a scheme is ordinarily tested in its results, it is only fair to give publicity to the proof cited by the Commissioners of the efficacy of their system, *viz.*, that it took

but three days to carry off the water left in the last cyclone. This, it is considered, will speak for itself

The protection of the Railway and Bidiadhurry fore-shores, as well as of the Canning and Stanley Strands, appear to have been a fertile subject of dissensions from the commencement, between the Municipality and the Port Canning Company.

The following paragraph from the report, dated June 1866, of the Engineer of the Municipality, will explain the reluctance evinced by the Municipality and the Port Canning Company in assuming the responsibility of protection as regards the Mutlah and Bidiadhurry Banks:—"The bank of the Mutlah River is in grave danger, being the concave side of a curve, and formed of soft silt deposit, with near river depths of 8 to 11 fathoms at low water, and the rise and fall of the tide varying from 11 to 19 feet, there is a strong eddy action, and in its season, the Monsoon wind, blowing over a broad expanse of water, causes much additional detriment. Some portions of the Bidiadhurry Bank are also much under attack of the river, the bunds along the Mollee Khal and Bidiadhurry occasionally give way, especially during the rainy season." On the Stanley Strand, particularly, much money has been expended, partly owing to the admittedly injudicious excavation of earth by the Commissioners, and partly on account of extensive slips which have from time to time taken place

During the rains of 1865, no less than 48,92,025 cubic feet of earth-work are said to have been executed on this account alone. Leases of the lots on this strand were allotted and calculated to yield a rental of upwards of Rs. 11,000 per annum, but the Commissioners failed to give possession, owing to the erosion of the bank of the river and other causes.

By the terms of the Deed of Concessions, the Port Canning Company had undertaken the protection of the fore-shore of the Mutlah River. It happens that a portion of this is contiguous to the premises of the Railway Company, in which, and the adjoining portion, a land-slip occurred in May 1866. With their usual hesitation, the Commissioners appear to have first taken the opinion of the Advocate-General as to the responsibility of the Port Canning Company for the protection of the bank, (which was repudiated by that Company, who erroneously held that the deed, if so interpreted, was signed under such a mistake of fact as would entitle them to relief in a Court of Equity,) and then, in spite of that opinion, which was entirely in their favour, to have effected a compromise with the Company, under which the Commissioners undertook themselves to carry

out protective measures, the Company agreeing, if this were first done, to take over that portion of the fore-shore for the future. These arrangements were all completed in April 1867, and the bank was to have been handed over in October, but again delay occurred resulting in most serious consequences, although 15 boats were sunk with 86 cwt. of chain and 3,240 tons of stone-ballast, and an expenditure incurred by the Board of upwards of Rs. 17,000, the repairs were not completed, nor had the transfer of the charge been effected when the cyclone of the 1st November intervened, carrying away the Railway jetty, and undermining and weakening the whole bank. In March of the present year another slip took place, and the Commissioners, to prevent further erosion, again attempted to repair this at a cost of Rs. 1,800. It is now stated that the least possible farther outlay will be Rs. 7,000 to be in any way effective; and the question of the assumption by the Company of a liability, which was properly theirs throughout, has been postponed *sine die*. Comment upon the supineness evinced in this matter would be superfluous. Nearly Rs 19,000 have literally been thus thrown into the river.

It has subsequently been necessary, in consequence of the erosion of the bank, to retire the Railway premises some distance, and an objection has been raised by the Port Canning Company to the renewal of the Railway jetty, but this question appears to be also in abeyance, the Railway having now been taken over by the Government.

In the Bidadhurry fore-shore the Commissioners have also been unfortunate, and it is estimated that the damage caused by the late cyclone will necessitate a further outlay of some Rs 17,000 upon it. The amount already expended upon this fore-shore by the Commissioners has been Rs. 11,238, yet they distinctly deny, in a recent report to Government, that they are in any way legally responsible for its maintenance, and urge, in extenuation of the outlay, that the expenditure has only been incurred on account of the importance of this fore-shore to the Municipality. On the other hand, it is alleged by the Port Canning Company that the neglect of the Commissioners to protect this fore-shore most seriously endangers the safety of their boat-dock, in which 3 lakhs of Rupees have already been sunk. The question of liability not having been definitely disposed of, may possibly occasion future trouble.

Taking only the rough figures given in the reports, we find that about Rs. 79,000 in all has been laid out in stone-ballast, bunking, and the protection of the river banks.

The judiciousness of such an outlay, principally upon works which, as we have shewn, the Commissioners deny their responsibility to maintain, may be fairly questioned, but space will not admit of our pursuing this branch of the subject further.

A not inconsiderable outlay has been made upon the digging and clearing of tanks. On this item alone nearly Rs. 68 000 has been spent, not including the cost of bringing fresh water from Calcutta (some Rs. 3,000 more). In lieu of experimenting with one tank, the Commissioners appear to have in the first year commenced with six, none of which, if we understand the annual report of 1867-68 rightly, are fit for use. It is hoped that two may possibly become fresh during the present rains; but with regard to the others, the Commissioners are not so hopeful. Their Chairman writes of them—"Other tanks have been pumped, but owing to the existence of salt springs, it is feared that, without great outlay, which the Commissioners cannot afford, it will not be possible to render the water fit for annual use."

The miscellaneous expenditure shewn is of too heterogeneous a nature to admit of our attempting to unravel or separate its items. The dealing with many threads even where the purpose is disentanglement is but too likely to lead to the opposite result. Our reason, therefore, for declining the task is not obscure, and we would refer such of our readers as may be desirous of farther information to the original reports.

And now, having reviewed the expenditure, what are the results achieved?—a few roads with little or no traffic, of which the annual cost of repair would absorb, it seems, more than the entire income of the Commissioners; some tanks, the water of which is declared unfit for animal use; fore-shores and embankments, of which the responsibility has been assumed, and upon which all the money hitherto expended has but served to show how much remains to be done, and how little has been really effected at how large a cost; a resident population, numbering 30 Europeans only, and consisting of the servants of the Municipality and the Port Canning Company, without shipping, with arrears of rent uncollected, and liabilities incurred upon Debentures, which will shortly reach maturity, and which annually demand the payment of a considerable sum in interest; surrounded by jungle which requires to be kept down; with a high rate of labor, defective drainage, and a reputation for insalubrity; with prospects of litigation, rarely in-

expensive, with heavy responsibilities and an all but exhausted exchequer—we see little cause for congratulating the Administration on the result of its labors.

We are fully prepared to admit that it has laboured under many disadvantages. The cyclones of 1864 and 1867, with their attendant losses; the wreck of the *Eagle Speed* near Hali-day's Island, (after which the late Lieutenant-Governor, one of the most active promoters of the interests of Canning, directed that the port should not be used for emigration purposes,*) and the want of confidence in the river inspired by this loss; the injudicious increase in the traffic rates of the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway at a most critical time; the loss of the Government surveying schooner *Charlotte*, which had been lent for the survey of the river, together with the whole of her survey charts completed at considerable cost; the internecine quarrels of the Directors of the Port Canning Company: all have tended in a greater or less degree to impede the advancement of the interests of the town, and to retard the progress of Canning as a port; yet we cannot absolve the Commissioners from blame in the face of such facts as we have recorded. And whether the correctness of the inferences we have drawn be admitted or not by the majority of our readers, we cannot but believe that we shall have succeeded in establishing in their minds the fact already so patent to our own, that the time has come for the consideration and review of the policy upon which the whole future of this port will depend, and that whether it be ultimately determined to grant or to withhold the support and influence of Government, a comprehensive view of the question should be taken in all its bearings without longer delay, and a definite policy be determined on.

The squandering of such large sums of public money in the Municipality, the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway, and the Marine Department, upon works of the utility of which we have given a fair sample, whilst waiting in the vain hope that the port will develop itself, is as unjust to the port as to the public; and whether it be deemed expedient to abandon entirely the scheme, or to foster and force the port, there could be no more fitting time than the present, when the very continuance of the existence of such an institution as its Municipality is at stake, for a review of the past, and the formation of sound and maturely considered plans for the future.

* Thirty-nine vessels visited Canning in 1865-66.

† Eight only in 1866-67, and two only in 1867-68.

ART. III.—PENSION LIST OF THE STAFF CORPS.

1. *General Order, No. 332 of 1861.*
2. *General Orders from 1861 to 1868.*
3. *Remarks on the increase of Field Officers.*
4. *The "Friend of India," July, 1868.*

MORE than seven years ago, a general order, dated the 10th April 1861, was promulgated by the Government of India, in virtue of which the old Indian Service was amalgamated with the Royal Army. The order was carefully drawn up, and was worded, so far as was possible, to prevent misconception. Nevertheless, having regard to the interests of the officers who would come under its operation, the Government were considerate enough to declare that they were prepared to publish, in the *Official Gazette*, replies to any questions which might be preferred by officers who might entertain doubts as to the meaning of any particular paragraph. This indulgence was largely taken advantage of, to the benefit equally of officers and the Government.

Amongst many other points relative to which questions were submitted, not the least important was that which referred to pension on retirement. The 95th paragraph of the general order referred to had expressly laid down, that "officers of Her Majesty's Indian forces joining the Staff Corps will be entitled to pension under the Regulations of the Indian Service." The 93rd paragraph placed those officers, in all essential particulars, "under the new Furlough Regulations of the Indian Army." Now, both the Pension Regulations of the Indian Service and the new Furlough Rules of 1854 contained clauses which permitted officers of the Indian Army to retire on the pension of their rank after twenty-two years' service. Of these twenty-two years, two might have been spent in Europe. It was obvious, therefore, that when they promulgated the general order we have referred to, the Government fully intended that the clause which permitted officers of the Indian Army to retire on the pension of their rank after twenty-two years' service, and known as the "Regulations of 1796," should be made applicable likewise to officers joining the new Staff Corps. So it appeared to officers generally; but so sensitive are the servants of Government on all matters relating to their pensions, that although no doubt was felt as

to the answer, questions on the subject were preferred simultaneously from various quarters.

The answer of the Government was just such as had been expected. It was officially declared that the Regulations of 1796 would be held applicable to officers entering the Staff Corps. This assurance decided the course of very many officers.

It unfortunately happened, however, that the Government of India were not allowed to interpret their own order. The answers which they gave to the various queries submitted, were forwarded for approval to the India House. To the influences paramount in that mansion some of those answers were not acceptable, and, amongst a few others, the reply given to the question regarding the Regulations of 1796 was ordered to be reversed.

The Government remonstrated. The independent gentlemen who constituted the Supreme Council of India saw what a mine of discontent the reversal of a privilege enjoyed for nearly seventy years would open out in the Army. They foresaw, too, that such a reversal would not even work beneficially for the Government; that an officer, not allowed to retire on the pension of his rank, would stay on for a higher one, thus clogging the superior ranks of the Army. They could not, indeed, foresee the extent to which this would take place, for the East India House had not then passed that other order which has consummated the mischief. But, as a matter of policy, as a matter of justice to officers, they opposed the reversal. They remonstrated most strongly—not once, but at least twice—with the India House, and they were silenced only by a peremptory order never to refer a second time a question upon which a decision had once been given.

To understand the full share which this refusal by the India House of the urgent request of their Government in India has had in bringing about the dead-lock to which we shall presently refer, it will be necessary to mention very briefly the actual conditions regarding pensions. By the rule promulgated in 1861, an officer may retire after twenty years' service in India on £191 per annum, the pension of a Captain; after twenty-four years' service, on £292, the pension of a Major; after twenty-eight years, on £365, the pension of a Lieutenant-Colonel; and after thirty-two years, on £456, the pension of a Colonel. But by the rules promulgated in 1796, and in force for nearly seventy years prior to 1861, he could, after twenty-two years, retire on the pension of the substantive rank he had attained.

Now, in the Staff Corps scheme, promotion was given after a certain number of years' service, calculated on the average of previous promotions. This average would have allowed officers an advantage of two years in claiming all the pensions but the lowest and highest. But it should be remembered that the average only expressed the mean of what had happened in by-gone years. Instances had occurred in which an officer had claimed a Lieutenant-Colonel's pension after twenty-two years' service. Now, even had the Regulations of 1796 been incorporated with the Staff Corps scheme, no officer could have claimed such a pension under twenty-six years' service; by the hard ruling of the India House he must serve twenty-eight years to obtain it. Granting, then, that the average which formed the basis of the Staff Corps scheme was fair, the refusal to subject the Regulations of 1796 to the same average was logically faulty.

There was another reason, which, though never brought forward, ought, we think, to have weighed with the India House in considering this question. Sir Stafford Northcote is reported to have declared recently in the House of Commons that the retiring pensions of the India Army are sufficiently liberal. We would venture to ask whether he has ever considered what they are. Is it so great a matter that the devotion of the twenty best years of a man's life to service in a tropical climate should be compensated by a miserable pittance of £191 per annum? When it is considered that military men often fill in the later years of their service some of the most important offices in the country, what are we to say to a rule which regards a pension of one pound sterling a day as the value of twenty-eight years' service? The fact is that, looking at the varied employments in which the officers of the Indian Army are engaged, they are worse off, as regards pensions, than any body of men in the Indian Service. We see a member of Council distinguished among his contemporaries,—a man of great experience, vast resources, possessing an intimate acquaintance with every subject which he touches, a man who, whether he writes on finance, on strategies, on the science of administration, adds to our knowledge, and sheds lustre on the Government to which he belongs. This member of Council, if he were forced by ill-health to retire, would receive but a pension of £456 a year to compensate him for his great service. The Military Secretary, raised, when a young man, to that high post for his services in the field and on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, would have, under such circum-

stances, to fall back upon £292. The Commissioner of Peshawur, the most important post in India, would not receive more; whilst a pound a day would be considered an equivalent for the great services rendered by the Governor-General's Agent at the Court of Holkar. Compare with these the pensions received by the clerks of the India House, the pensions now proposed for the Uncovenanted Service. Compare the work of each, the climate in which the work of the military officer is performed, and the pension doled out as compensation. Will Sir Stafford Northcote inquire into these cases, and then repeat that the pensions of the military officers are sufficiently liberal?

The fact is that, when those pensions were first proposed, they were sufficiently liberal. It seems, however, always to be forgotten that they date from the last century, that they go back to a period when money was worth at least two and-a-half times more than it is now. The pension of £191 per annum in those days represented about £500 a year of our present money. We may confidently affirm, then, that the Directors who first fixed those pensions would not have been considered sufficiently liberal, if they had fixed the first pension at £80 per annum. Yet that sum represents as nearly as possible the value in the present day of the first pension of £191 per annum granted a century ago. It was probably because at the close of the last century the Directors perceived that the tendency of prices was to rise, that they issued that order of 1796, which the East India House, after prices had so risen as enormously to decrease the value of a pension, has abolished.

This was a circumstance which might, we think, have induced the East India House to take a liberal view of the circumstances of their officers in 1861. It is, however, beside the question we propose to argue, and to which we now return. We have shewn, we trust clearly, that the effect of the abolition of the rules of 1796 on the officers of the Staff Corps has been to force them to remain longer in the service than would otherwise have been the case, and thus, to a certain extent, to clog the higher ranks of the Army. This effect was enhanced by the enforced abolition, about the same time, of the system, by which officers retired from the Army on receipt of a *bonus*. Now, it is well known that the tendency of a long residence in India is to make men cling more and more to the country. The rule, therefore, preventing the retirement which at the time would have been acceptable, on the pension of rank,

compelled men to stay on some years longer, and thus tended to induce them to remain altogether, or in some cases, to wait for their off reckonings.

There were but few officers, however, who, under the old system, could have hoped to receive that valuable addition to their income, or who would have cared to stay out in India till it should fall into their lap. But suddenly the India House opened out to them a golden vision. Having, by their decision in the matter of the Regulations of 1796, compelled many officers to stay on beyond the time they had intended, they all at once offered them a bait of more than £1,000 per annum, provided they would complete thirty-eight years' service. This bait took the shape of the offer of Colonel's allowance (more than £1,000 year with pension) to every Staff Corps officer who should serve twelve years as Lieutenant-Colonel. As that rank is attained after twenty-six years' service, it followed that, lured by this bait, and having no adequate pension available at the time, officers would almost invariably continue to serve to thirty-eight years, drawing in the interval full Indian allowances, and in many cases doing nothing.

We see, now, how the present dead-lock has been caused. By being sparing, when, in their own interest, they should have been liberal, and by being too liberal when there was no occasion for the exercise of liberality, the home authorities have practically prevented all retirements under thirty-two years' service, whilst, by offering to more than double the pension then available, if the officer would but serve six years longer, they induce all, or almost all, to commit to a service of thirty-eight years. Is it surprising that under such circumstances the Staff Corps is fast becoming an army of field-officers?

The result, indeed, of this, as it were, compelling all the Staff Corps officers to serve for thirty-eight years, is most startling. We have lately received a printed memorandum on the subject, signed R. R. In this it is stated that on the 31st December last there were 1,034 field-officers in the three Staff Corps, and that eighteen years hence the survivors of these will be in receipt of Colonel's allowances. Allowing a casualty rate of four and-a-half per cent. per annum, the writer shews that the pensions of the survivors will, in 1885, amount to £4,50,000 annually. In addition to these, he points out there are one hundred and forty-four Lieutenant-Colonels in the Cavalry and Infantry, who are entitled to Colonel's allowances after twelve years'

service in their present grade. The pension list for Colonel's allowances alone will thus be ultimately liable for nearly £600,000. At present the entire payment on account of all pensions, including Colonel's allowances, is considerably less than half a million sterling. What will the total amount to, when Colonel's allowances alone swallow up £600,000? But startling as this statement is, we believe it to be short of the truth. There are, too, other contingent expenses which swell enormously the expenses resulting from the policy that has been followed. Let us take, for instance, this fact mentioned by the writer from whom we are quoting:—"There are now," he says, "seventy-five Lieutenant-Colonels and eighty Majors doing general duty and drawing upwards of fourteen lakhs" (£1,40,000) per annum." This is a *minimum* number. Since the paper from which we have extracted was penned, the number of field-officers has increased by thirty or forty, of whom a fair proportion are doing general duty. For what purpose are these hundred and sixty or seventy field-officers retained? They are required for no military purpose, they do no service, then enforced idleness makes their presence at a station undesirable. Why, then, we repeat, are they retained? The answer is easy. They have no adequate pension claimable in the present, but a glorious vision looms before them in the future. The Lieutenant-Colonel who, were he to retire now, would have to content himself perforce with £365 per annum, has but to serve eight years longer in any part of the world to which leave may be procurable, and he can claim more than £1,000 annually. Under such circumstances, who will retire? Who will renounce the splendid prospect before him? It would be folly even for the most sickly to give up that extra £600 annual pension, obtainable by a mock service, interspersed by leave of from eight to twelve years!

It is due to the officers of the Indian Army to state that they are not responsible for this state of things. They did not ask for it; they never dreamt that it would be offered them; they even struggled all their might against it. They asked merely that the privilege which they had enjoyed for seventy years might be continued to them. Had that moderate request been granted, and had the Home Government abstained at the same time from holding out to them the temptation of unlimited Colonel's allowances, we should have had a very different spectacle. There would then have been some chance for the Staff Corps. Officers would have had no great object

in remaining on, whilst the pension of rank, attainable after twenty-two, twenty-six, and thirty-one years' service respectively, would have induced a fair proportion of them to make way for younger men.

Before we proceed to indicate how, in our opinion, it may yet be possible, though so late in the day, to provide a remedy for this impending evil, we propose to glance very briefly at the manner in which it affects the Army, the Officer individually, and the State.

First, as to the Army. Nothing is calculated to act more prejudicially to the discipline of an army than the maintenance in its ranks, especially in its higher ranks, of a body of officers whose trade and business it is to do nothing, and, more than that, who have neither the ambition nor the desire to do anything,—who are content to live a life of idleness, drawing their pay, and waiting for the munificent pension, which is obtainable by holding twelve years the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. There can be no spectacle, we affirm, more demoralising than this. What do officers of the Royal Army think of it?—what do the men think of it? It is idle to suppose that the subject is not discussed in the mess-room and the barracks. These doing-duty officers draw pay for doing virtually nothing, whilst the regimental officer, on similar allowances, is forced to work well for his country. A short experience of this life of ease is sufficient to demoralise the officer himself, and there can be little doubt that in very many instances this effect is produced. The main result, then, is this:—that we have a Staff Corps all the surplus officers of which are in its senior grades, and that the fact of the existence of such a surplus constitutes an evil, the effects of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

So far as the officer is concerned, the main evil inflicted upon him is a loss of self-respect. It is often, indeed, far being his fault that he is unemployed; it is certainly due to no laches on his part that he is prevented from retiring. By abolishing the Regulations of 1796, the Government have forced him to continue in the service, waiting for his higher pension. Yet the actual effect upon him is in itself not less cruel than if it had been intentional. Had the Regulations of 1796 been in force, he would have gone home, we will say, four years ago, on the pension of his rank. But forced to stay on those four years in consequence of the abolition of those Regulations, and having become meanwhile more than ever indianised by the idleness in which they have been passed, he deems it perfectly legitimate

to stay six or eight years longer in order to obtain the extra life-income which he regards as a compensation for the loss of the pension of his rank. Had he left four years ago, he would have retired after twenty six years' service in a tropical climate, comparatively a happy man, to his native land. Forced to stay, he sees himself regarded as an *upcubus*; he knows himself to be useless; he falls into that worst of all states,—a state of which an annual love of life, and a determination to live on for his Colonel's allowances, constitute the main elements. He descends, perhaps, often in spite of himself, several steps in the grade of humanity.

We now proceed to discuss the mode in which the State is affected by this system. We have alluded to the fact that in the course of a few years, unless something be done to check it, the expenditure on account of Colonel's allowances will amount to the enormous sum of nearly £6,00,000 annually. We might go further and declare it to be capable of proof that the entire sum payable for pensions will, under the same circumstances, fall little short of £8,00,000 sterling. At present, we believe, it does not much exceed £4,00,000. But this is not all. We would call attention to the extraordinary fact,—a fact so astounding that it will seem to many incredible,—that to enable officers to qualify to increase the pension-list to the extent above indicated, the State continues to pay officers highly for doing nothing. There are now about one hundred and sixty field-officers doing general duty at the three Presidencies at an annual cost to the State of fourteen lakhs of rupees? The State disburses this sum of fourteen lakhs annually, simply and solely to enable those one hundred and sixty officers to become recipients, at periods varying from one to eighteen years, of pensions of more than £1,000 per annum each! This is a simple fact. The officers are not wanted. the State would be all the better for being rid of them. Yet it is content to pay them to stay on for a pension to which all of them, without limitation as to numbers, have a legal right to look forward! Are we not justified in applying to this fact the epithet 'astounding'?

If we look at the matter in another light, it is not less startling—granted that there are one hundred and sixty unemployed field-officers in the three Presidencies, and that of these one-half are Lieutenant-Colonels. Now, if we may judge by the analogy of the times when the Indian Army was officered on the old system, two-fifths of these officers would have retired

on obtaining the pensions of their respective ranks,—the Majors after twenty-two years' service, the Lieutenant-Colonels after twenty-six. We thus have, out of the eighty Majors, thirty-three retiring after twenty-two years' service, and the same number of Lieutenant-Colonels after twenty-six years. Under the present system, those sixty-six officers stay on for their Colonel's allowances of £1,000 per annum. Mark now the difference to Government. Under the present system the thirty-three Majors would serve four years longer in that rank, and twelve in the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, the Lieutenant-Colonels would serve as such for twelve years. Now each Major costs the State annually Rs. 7,690-14-0, each Lieutenant-Colonel, Rs. 9,934-8-0. The calculation would then be as follows:—

	Rs.	A. P.
33 Majors, at Rs. 7,690-14-0, for four years ...	10,15,195	8 0
66 Lieutenant-Colonels, at Rs. 9,934-8-0, for twelve years ...	78,68,124	0 0
Total ...	88,83,319	8 0

Had those officers been allowed to retire on the Regulations of 1796, they would have cost the State during the same period:—

	Rs.	A. P.
33 Majors, at Rs. 2,920, for sixteen years ...	15,41,760	0 0
33 Lieutenant-Colonels, at Rs. 3,650, for twelve years ...	14,45,400	0 0
Total ...	29,87,160	0 0

Cost under the new system ...	88,83,319	8 0
Ditto under the old ..	29,87,160	0 0
Difference ...	58,96,159	8 0

This difference shews the saving to the State which would have accrued on those sixty-six officers had the Regulations of 1796 been in force. It is difficult to calculate casualties, but it is the less necessary because those sixty-six officers represent but a proportion of the number of the total officers of the Army who under those circumstances would have retired. If the Regulations of 1796 had never been interfered with, it is more than probable that the retirements would have

absorbed more than the majority of the doing-duty officers, and that in a few years the class would altogether have disappeared.

We see now clearly in what the policy of 1861—the withdrawal of the time-honoured privilege of retiring upon the pension of rank—has resulted. It has burdened the State with officers for which it can find no employment and it has enormously increased the expenses of the Army, and, prospectively, of the pension-list. It is solely because officers are, so to speak, compulsorily retained on the effective list, that the 2,200 members of the three Staff Corps cost the State infinitely more than the three thousand officers of the old Army, and this, though the pay of each grade has been reduced. It is because of this that the pension-list will in a few years require the annual payment of nearly a million sterling to meet it. Facts more striking, and in many respects more startling, have seldom been presented to the vision of any Government.

But, it will be said, surely there is a remedy for this alarming evil. It is solely because we consider that the difficulty, if taken in hand at once, may yet be tided over, that we have ventured upon these few remarks. There is one consideration, however, of paramount importance. Whatever is to be done, must be done quickly. Every month's delay will increase the difficulties, and add to the embarrassment, of the Government. The evil must be met boldly, promptly, and effectually. The opportunity was never more favourable. We have a Governor-General well acquainted with all the details of the Indian Service, a Finance Minister, fully alive to the danger of allowing a pension-list gradually to double itself, and of the folly of paying unemployed officers that they may qualify for increased pension; and, finally, we may say that in Sir Stafford Northcote we possess an Indian Minister not indisposed to re-consider the working of a system which has reversed the expectations formed of it by its authors.

The writer of the circular we have already quoted, R. R., proposes to get rid of the difficulty by offering one hundred extra pensions annually to officers of the three Presidencies. "The number," he writes, "of unemployed field-officers is increasing monthly, and it would be a great saving to Government if these in excess could be got rid of gradually; and what is suggested is—

"1st.—That 100 extra pensions be offered annually in the proportion of 45 to Bengal, 32 to Madras, and 23 to Bombay.

"2nd.—That Brevet-Colonels in the Staff Corps get the pension of their rank, £456, with £144 additional, or in all £600 a year.

"3rd.—That Lieutenant-Colonels get £365 and an extra pension of £135, or in all £500

"4th.—That if the allotted number of extra pensions has not been accepted by Lieutenant-Colonels, it be offered to Majors, who should get £292 with an extra pension of £108, or in all £400

"These pensions to be given irrespective of leave, and the seniors to have the preference.

"The Staff Corps' pay of 100 Lieutenant-Colonels

"amounts annually to ... £99,340

"Pension of rank with £135 extra, or £500

"to 100 Lieutenant-Colonels ... £50,000

"Saving ... £49,340

"so the saving now would be nearly five lakhs annually, and Government would get rid of their liability for Colonel's allowances. Even if this boon were offered and accepted, there would still be upwards of 300 Lieutenant-Colonels and nearly 500 Majors in the three Staff Corps in 1872; and how is suitable employment to be found even for that reduced number?"

This scheme possesses many advantages. It is simple, it is not extravagant; it causes an immediate saving to Government of nearly five lakhs of rupees per annum, and it lifts off from the shoulders of the Government the terrible burden of having to pay officers for doing nothing, in order that, at the end of a certain time, they may draw a higher pension. Of any possible scheme it is the one most likely, we think, to be acceptable to the Government. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how the Government could disapprove of it, for it involves an immediate and a prospective saving,—two objects which, if they can be accomplished without interfering with efficiency, must always rejoice the heart of a Finance Minister.

The only objection we have heard put forward to this scheme is that it would fail in its effect, that the field-

officers would be too much attached by the loadstone of £1,000 a year offered to all without limit, to deviate from their course of service in order to accept so small an addition to their pensions. This objection has been so strongly entertained that there has been submitted to Government, we hear officially, by one of its chief financial officers, another scheme, based upon the principle of offering a smaller extra pension than that proposed by R R, but in addition to that a *bonus* calculated upon the actual value of Colonel's allowances to each officer. There can be no doubt but that this scheme would be the more attractive of the two for officers generally. It will, however, be more immediately expensive to Government, although it effects a considerable saving on the present lavish system. But, more liberal though it be, the fear entertained regarding it also is, that it will not induce a very large number of officers to retire.

We are not of that opinion. We think that there are many officers now constituting a heavy burden on the State, whom the offer of a small *bonus* combined with extra pension would induce to retire at once, but who otherwise would determine to wait on for their Colonel's allowances. A little ready-money, to furnish a house, to pay debts in India, to start a boy in life, is what they chiefly require. Were this offered to them, they would gladly waive their claim on the prospective £1,000 per annum.

But we have heard it remarked that any retiring scheme would be open to objection unless it could be arranged that none of the good officers of the Army should retire, that only the indifferent officers should be allowed to take advantage of it. We do not think there is much force in this objection. The remedy, in fact, is in the hands of Government. If, by chance, a good and efficient officer were to be induced by the offer of such a *bonus* and increased pension to retire, it would only be because he was not holding a suitable office under Government. The authorities have it always in their power to induce an officer to remain. We believe that very few officers whom the Government really desired to keep would take advantage of any offer of retirement. But even if it were to influence a few, there is at present so large a surplus of officers that there would be no difficulty in supplying their places. It would be impossible, at any rate, that the offer should be made to only a portion of the Army—that efficient officers should be excluded from the offer of a benefit, simply because they happened to be efficient.

The interests of the State require that immediate action should be taken, and we do not hesitate to record our strong conviction that no action can be effectual which does not hold out to officers some small immediate concession as an inducement to relinquish their hold on the large advantages in prospect. We would desire to take this opportunity of expressing the regret with which we have noticed how the difficulties brought about by the causes we have noticed have been made the peg whereupon to found an attack upon Staff Corps. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Staff Corps,—and this is a question into which we shall not enter,—this at least is certain, that the threatened increase of the pension-list, the actual increase of expenditure on account of officers, are quite independent of the principles upon which the Staff Corps were founded. Those evils are distinctly traceable to the two causes we have learned—the one being the abolition of the Regulations of 1796, the other, the inducement held out to all officers to serve for thirty-eight years. But for those two measures, we should not have seen that immense army of field-officers unjustly attributed to the method of promotion laid down for the Staff Corps. The real fact is that it is these two measures which have deprived the Staff Corps system of the fair trial to which it was entitled.

Equally do we feel constrained to protest against that solution of the difficulty which an influential and able journal on the Western Coast has not hesitated to recommend. Violently to undo the work of the last seven years, to break up the three Staff Corps, to violate the solemn promises made by Her Majesty and by Her Secretary of State, to tear up the agreements in virtue of which officers have entered the Staff Corps: these are courses which a country like Spain, denied access to the exchanges of Europe for the violation of its engagements, might perhaps fitly employ, but which England would scorn to follow. In justice so glaring would not even enjoy the miserable merits of being successful. Any infringement upon those Regulations, sanctioned by Her Majesty's warrant or the orders of her Secretary of State, for which her Indian military servants were content to forego the protection of a Parliamentary guarantee, must necessarily be accompanied by an offer of compensation, and we are confident that any measure of this sort would cost the State far more than the very moderate proposals to which we have given prominence in this article. We believe, moreover, that the journal alluded to mistakes altogether the public

feeling regarding the Staff Corps. The Government of India, at least, have not yet recognised it as a failure, and no impartial writer will lay the present dead-lock to its charge. We dismiss, then, the proposal to strike a *coup d'état* at the present constitution of the Indian Army as being utterly unworthy of consideration. We do so the more readily, inasmuch as it is yet possible, if time be not culpably neglected, to bring about a satisfactory result in a legitimate manner.

We have already mentioned the proposal submitted by R. R., to meet the difficulty of providing annually a certain extra annuity for a hundred officers. But we should not be doing justice to his scheme were we to omit the reply to a reference on the subject which he received from a London actuary. We give the result in his own words. He writes:—

“That the extra pensions recommended last year were not more than officers were fairly entitled to, is proved by the answer to the following question, which was sent to a friend in London. The answer is by an actuary.

QUESTION

A, (a Lieutenant-Colonel just promoted,) aged 44 on last January 1880, is entitled to an annuity of £600 a year on 1st January 1868, what is its value on the 1st of each year?

ANSWER.

Supposing that A's life is insurable at the ordinary rates, I am of opinion that the values of the above annuity at the under-mentioned dates are as follows --

1st January 1869	.. £1,510	1st January 1873	... £3,300
Ditto 1870	... £8,775	Ditto 1876	... £3,661
Ditto 1871	... £2,650	Ditto 1877	.. £4,043
Ditto 1872	... £2,340	Ditto 1878	.. £4,452
Ditto 1873	.. £2,643	Ditto 1879	... £4,853
Ditto 1874	... £2,962	Ditto 1880	... £5,280"

It would be interesting to contrast the amounts here given with the sums proposed in the official scheme, which, we understand, has been submitted to the Government. It seems probable to us that the latter must necessarily be of a lesser amount, inasmuch as the official scheme contemplates a small extra annuity in addition to pension. And this, we are inclined to think, is the better arrangement of the two.

Another scheme, which, we observe, has been advocated by a writer in the *Times of India*, and the *Army and Navy Gazette*, proposes to meet the difficulty and to diminish the

expenditure by allowing surplus Lieutenant-Colonels to remain in England on English pay till their services should be required in India. The writer in the *Times of India* suggests that, under such circumstances, to make up for the difference of climate, an officer should be forced to serve eighteen instead of twelve years for his Colonel's allowance. But, such a scheme, though it would relieve the expenditure for the moment, would not touch the main evil,—the enormous increase of pensions. These would continue to swell the budget, and there would be a greater certainty of officers living to enjoy them. If, however, it were meant, as the *Army and Navy Gazette* seems to imply, that time spent in England should not count towards Colonel's allowances, the scheme would be a good one, if officers could be induced to accept it. But this, with R. R., we take leave to doubt. He writes—

“The number of field officers in the three Staff Corps in excess of the requirements of the Service is beginning at last to attract attention in England, and the *Army and Navy Gazette* lately recommended that an Act of Parliament be obtained to enable the Secretary of State to form a reserve of the surplus field-officers, and allow them to remain in England on English pay till their services were required in India; but such an arrangement is impracticable. The Secretary of State has guaranteed that officers who have joined the Staff Corps will not be placed on half-pay, and under this guarantee no officer could be compelled to proceed to England and remain there till his services were required. Very few would accept such an offer unless their promotion were to go on, and their claims to Colonel's allowance after thirty-eight years from date of first commission held good.

“Every year's delay increases the prospective liabilities of Government, and with the new Furlough Regulations it may be easy to spin out the 12 years in the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel.

“To get rid of several hundred officers at once would be an inconvenience to the public service, and therefore the best plan seems to be to offer extra pensions, or a *bonus*, to a fixed number annually on the 1st January, or 1st July.

“Some officers who would have gone a year ago on £600 pension have now made up their minds to remain for Colonel's allowances.”

This last sentence is convincing as to the necessity of prompt action in the matter.

There is in fact but one course really open to the Government. The interests of the State peremptorily require that the actual and prospective burdens upon its finances should be checked and prevented. This can only be accomplished by a prompt and vigorous course of action, embodying a measure similar to one of those which we have recommended. Whether it be the scheme of R. R., or the proposal officially submitted, will matter very little, provided only the measure actually adopted be sufficiently comprehensive to fulfil the end for which it is intended. The two great evils are:—*1st*, the retention on the list of useless officers; *2nd*, the payment of enormous allowances to such officers to enable them to qualify for extra pensions. These evils are to be met eventually by a recurrence to the scheme which encouraged earlier retirements. But meanwhile extra measures must be resorted to in order to induce those on their way towards Colonel's allowances to forego their claims.

We have spoken little of the military aspect of this measure, regarding it mainly as a financial question. It would have been easy to point out that the Staff Corps would immensely benefit by the retirement of some of its senior officers. It requires pruning at the top and replenishing at its lower grades. But, after all, the question is mainly financial, and it is this which gives us confidence that it will not be permitted to cause the Government to drift into catastrophe. That this will be the inevitable result if the evil be not boldly faced and as boldly checked, no one who has studied the case will venture to deny. But we have confidence in Sir Richard Temple. Even if he did not possess that capacity for finance, that inquiring genius, and that love of work for its own sake, with which the world has credited him, he could not, at a period when the expenditure of every department is increasing, when there are daily fresh calls upon the purse-strings of the Imperial Government, afford to be indifferent to an extra expenditure, which, one way or another, is steadily progressing towards a million sterling. But we are certain that there are other reasons which will stimulate his energies, and will induce him to arrest the course of that stream which—a few years ago only a trickling rill—has now attained the dimensions of a brook, and will inevitably, if left unchecked, swell, before long, into the irresistible fury of a torrent. The opportunities enjoyed by Sir Richard Temple, when, under the orders of the late Mr. Wilson, he overhauled all the public officers in Calcutta—when, in conjunction with Colonel

Balfour, he introduced a system where chaos had from time immemorial prevailed—peculiarly fit him to comprehend, at a glance, the inherent vice of the present system. He will not fail to see that to refuse to meet the accruing and increasing liabilities by a measure which will at once cancel them, will be to entail upon the State an expenditure to be measured ultimately by millions; upon the institutions of the Staff Corps, a discredit which cannot fail to overwhelm. Of the 2,204 officers who were borne on the rolls of those Corps on the 31st December 1866, 1,397, subject of course to casualties, will be field-officers in 1,872 ! But death-casualties are rare, and retirements have ceased ! What a prospect is this ! A Staff Corps, five-eighths of the officers of which will be field-officers, and of those five-eighths, numbering nearly fourteen hundred, each man gradually qualifying for a pension of £1,000 per annum ! But no ! if the Mr Temple of the Calcutta of 1860, and of the Central Provinces of 1863, survives, as we believe, in Sir Richard Temple, the Finance Minister, we shall never see such a catastrophe as this !

ART. IV.—INDIAN LAND TENURE CONSIDERED AS AN ECONOMIC QUESTION.

THE following pages were originally intended as an introduction to a short tract on Land Tenure in India, considered from the point of view of Political Economy. But although they are designed to prepare the ground for the discussion of a special subject, the doctrines which have in the first instance to be maintained, are general principles, and we venture to hope that their investigation may be of general interest, and that the style in which they have been treated may not prove repulsive to the general reader.

Students of Political Economy will indeed find nothing new in what is here written. If anything has been added to what is borrowed from Mr Mill, it is merely in the way of inference from, and expansion of, the premises which his work supplied. But we have chiefly tried to epitomize and throw into a popular form the doctrines to be found in that eminent man's writings and in other works of the same school, which seem most in accordance with the present state of speculation on this subject.

It will be seen that our conclusions point to a supreme ownership of land by the community or nation, (which ownership must of course be exercised through the State or National Executive,) and to a subordinate ownership vested in the actual cultivators. This summary of our views may sound revolutionary: so we hasten to assure any one who does us the honour to peruse these pages, that we are not putting forward plans for the regeneration of society in general, still less of English institutions in particular. All we desire is to prove that a system of tenures, founded on such doctrines would not be incompatible with the general well-being; or rather that, on the whole, such a system would be more healthy than those ordinary European systems which vest all property in land in some special class, to the exclusion of all the rest of the community.

We hope hereafter to be able to show that these doctrines of the supreme ownership of the nation and the subordinate ownership of the cultivator actually exist, in germ at least, in India,

and that they are the foundation of the practical systems which prevail there. Revolutionary as these doctrines may be in Europe, they are conservative in India: it is the European doctrine of absolute private property in land which is revolutionary here.

But though this is so, and is admitted to be so by all persons of Indian experience, there is a tendency to think that the doctrines themselves are economically unsound, and that the practice founded on them is vicious, and defensible only as a temporary expedient. Indian administrators and legislators are willing enough to admit that the State is the supreme landowner: only they can hardly feel quite sure that the State ought to be so. They are willing enough to admit that, practically, the land must of necessity be the main source of the public revenue; but they look forward to a time when the land tax shall be fixed in perpetuity, or perhaps redeemed, and when revenue shall be almost wholly raised by ordinary taxes. They acquiesce grudgingly and with many apologies in the necessity for carrying out the great works of locomotion and irrigation by State aid; but they cut down the State aid to a guarantee system that enriches speculators out of public money, and they limit State control to a supervision which is made into an excuse for inefficiency. And this is all done in the sacred name of "private enterprise." As to the subordinate ownership, people's ideas are entirely at sea. There are those who dream of "creating" a landed aristocracy, and those who dream of "creating" a peasant proprietary. Their own language admits that neither of these institutions exists; but they do not see that the system of tenancy from the State is a far more desirable one for the community, and therefore ultimately for the individual, than either of the systems they consider the only possible ones.

It is with the view of combating these fallacies, and setting right, as far as may be, the prevalent misconceptions on these subjects, that we shall begin with the consideration of the abstract side of the question. We have not, we repeat, any plans for reforming English laws of property; but if any one thinks the lessons we shall endeavour to teach, applicable at home, he will find, as we proceed, how far, and with what limitations, we are of the same opinion. We shall state our views with a candour which may, perhaps, offend some; but we shall avoid domestic controversy: and when we draw any illustrations from particular cases, we shall be careful to state the mo-

difications which practice requires in applying abstract doctrine.*

We purpose, in the first instance, briefly to consider the nature of property in land, and the various forms in which it may be exercised, with exclusive attention to their economic and social aspects. It is possible that some of the conclusions arrived at will be unpractical, and probably that many of them will be unpopular; but it must ever be borne in mind that though economical and social theories cannot be applied in a crude state to practice, but require modifications to adapt them to disturbing forces, nevertheless the economic and social theory is the standard towards which practice must tend, and by which practice must correct itself.

In an enquiry such as we have taken in hand, the first question that suggests itself is this: What is the ultimate basis on which property in land is founded?

Roughly stated, the right† of private property in general rests upon this fact,—that if the person who produces a portion of wealth is not permitted to dispose of that portion as he pleases, (either by consuming it himself, or by transferring it to another person, or by keeping it for future use,) production will cease. Society has therefore an interest in protecting the producer of wealth in the enjoyment of what he produces, and also his transferees in the enjoyment of that which they have received from him. We find, accordingly, that one of the essentials of a good state of society is, that property shall be secure.

Now, it is evident that a great deal of this reasoning does not apply to land. The man who produces a portion of wealth by his labour does not hinder others from doing the same; his ownership is not to the exclusion of any one else: without him the commodity would not have existed at all. But land did not come into existence through the efforts of any person or persons. Nor would any revolution in the laws of property

* This Essay was originally intended for publication in England as part of a larger work. But impaired health and other circumstances have hindered the writer from carrying out his design, and he owes to the courtesy of the *Calcutta Review* the fulfilment of this portion of his original plan.

† Throughout this discussion we shall try to use the word "right" as consistently as we can in its utilitarian sense. We do not wish to dogmatise as to whether utility is the basis of right or not, but the most transcendental of moralists will admit that what is *contrary* to utility cannot be a right.

directly* diminish the quantity of land in any given country by one single rood. And, moreover, owing to the limitation of the quantity of land, the ownership of it, at least in a populous country, must be to the exclusion of other people. the possession of land must constitute a species of monopoly. "But though land is not the produce of industry, most of its valuable qualities are so. Labour is not only requisite for using, but almost equally so for fashioning, the instrument. * * * * *

"The fruits of this industry cannot be reaped in a short period. The labour and outlay are immediate; the benefit is spread over many years, perhaps over all future time. A holder will not incur this labour and outlay when strangers and not himself will be benefited by it. If he undertakes such improvements, he must have a sufficient period before him in which to profit by them."†

From this it is inferred that the person whose labour and outlay maintain or increase the valuable qualities of the land, ought to possess a durable interest in the land.

Property in land may therefore be said to be founded on the expediency of conferring a durable interest upon the person whose labour and outlay maintain or increase the valuable qualities of the land.

But besides all this, there is, owing to the limitation of the quantity of land, a natural monopoly of the land itself, previous to, and independent of, its improvement by labour and outlay. The possession of this monopoly, and not the durable interest above spoken of, is what is usually meant by the phrase "property in land." Property in land, therefore, implies the power of exacting rent; for rent is the effect of this monopoly. If any person or class of persons is vested with the power of excluding all others from the use of the soil, it is clear that such person or class is also vested with the power to demand a price for sharing, or parting with, the monopoly. When the price is paid at stated periods, and the use of the soil transferred, not absolutely, but for a time more or less long, and conditionally upon the regularity of the payment, such payment is usually called rent.

* It might indirectly: for instance, if a change in the law of property rendered it no longer worth while to keep up a barrier against the sea,—which is a conceivable case.

† Mill's Political Economy, book 2, ch 2, § 5.

If all the land in any given country were cultivated, and if all produced something more than the equivalent of its cultivator's subsistence, it is manifest that the holders of the monopoly would have it in their power to demand as rent the whole surplus that remained after rendering to the cultivator the necessities of life. If we suppose the entire land* of a country cultivated by persons who were content to live upon bare necessities, then the rate of rent of the land of such a country would be limited by the difference between the subsistence of one such cultivator and the amount of produce which one such cultivator could raise from a given quantity of ground. This is the widest limit rent can vary in, since it is manifest that to transgress this limit would throw land out of cultivation by diminishing the number of labourers. In the case of a country with no industry but agriculture, the labourers would starve, or, at best, they might emigrate. It is, as we shall see hereafter, chiefly in such countries that the produce of land is divided directly between the landowner and the labourer. But for the sake of completeness it may be added, that if the country in question possessed other industries, a portion of the labour might be diverted from agriculture into them. If such influx forced *their* wage-rate below the subsistence point, then starvation or emigration would still thin the numbers of the labouring class.

So that in no case can the rate of rent exceed the difference between the labourer's subsistence and the produce of the best land. And, as a general rule, the rate of rent is limited by the difference between the produce of the best, and that of the worst, land which it is *ordinarily profitable** to cultivate. This, then, is the limit of the monopoly price. But there is a circumstance to be attended to in reference to the rate of rent, which is sometimes a source of confusion in discussions on this topic. If we suppose two plots of land of equal size and equal natural fertility, and that the one is left to itself, and the other improved by irrigation, or draining, or manuring, or fencing, or the like, it is manifest that the latter will bear a greater rent than the former. The rent of the former will be the simple monopoly price; that of the latter will be the same monopoly price *plus* the return of the capital expended in improving.

* This is what is meant by calling rent "surplus profits,"—a name to which Professor Jones very needlessly objected. Nobody ever confused English farmers' rents with Indian ryots' or Irish cottiers' rents, though he seems to have imagined the confusion a common one.

But the increase of value, which is given to some lands by expenditure of capital, over others their natural equals, cannot be readily distinguished and set apart from the natural monopoly price. It is not always possible to say of any given plot of ground that it is worth a high rent in consequence of improvements, and not of natural advantages, or *vice versâ*. Such increase of rent virtually unites with the natural monopoly rent of the land in question.

It may be remarked here that a good deal of needless controversy would have been spared had the distinction between the *cause* and the *limit* of rent been borne in mind.

The cause is the monopoly arising from the limited quantity of land. But the limit is the difference of the returns to equal labour and capital on different soils. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same statement applies to all ground rents. Variations in the rent of pasture lands are limited by the difference in quantity or quality, or both, of the live stock supported by equal areas of land. Even variations in the rent of building ground are limited by the difference in the returns obtainable by equal capitals used in building on equal spaces.

It has already been remarked that the economic title to private property in land rests upon grounds somewhat differing from those of the title to private property in movables. It has been pointed out that if the protection of society were withdrawn, production would cease in a great measure, and accumulation would virtually cease altogether; whereas no such results would necessarily follow, as regards the actual land, from any amount of anarchy. But it was also suggested that the land would be practically rendered useless, if the possession of portions of it were not protected. The husbandman must have reasonable hopes of keeping his field at least from seed-time to harvest, or he will not sow. Even the herdsman or shepherd must keep possession of his pasture during the time required for grazing. And it is clear that if anything like improvement in husbandry is sought, if even the soil is to be protected against deterioration, since these things require labour, outlay, and intelligence, and since the labour and outlay require time to produce their results, the persons who cultivate the soil must have the possession of it in some measure secured to them.

From this point of view it would naturally be supposed that the monopoly of the land of every settled country would be in the hands of the actual tillers of the ground. One would expect to find them (supposing none but economic causes had

operated on the constitution of their society), occupying, separately or in common, such areas of land as they found convenient, and, if they raised from such lands any more than they needed for primary wants, devoting such surplus either to a common stock, or to the separate provision for such secondary wants as their state of civilization imposed upon them.

Such a picture would, however, be very unlike any state of society that ever has actually existed. Economic causes never do regulate the whole of the conditions of any society. It would be irrelevant and impracticable to enter into the discussion of the actual tenures of land that have prevailed in practice. Any one moderately acquainted with history can see that the facts may, without much inaccuracy, be thus summed up: Until very recent times, nearly all the monopolists of land have been non-cultivating minorities, and nearly all the cultivators have been either the slaves or the tenants of the minorities.

The possession of these landowners was never founded on the principle above stated, of maintaining and increasing the productiveness of the land: and it has not been generally exercised, though it has in a few instances, under the influence of that principle.

In ancient communities, usage or conquest, most commonly the latter, was the foundation of property in land. As society got settled, the tribes or classes actually in possession, and the others who were dependent upon them, became shaken down into their places. The origin of the possession was lost sight of, and the relations that had grown up appeared by association a necessary part of the constitution of things. Nay, landed-property actually became, and is, in the eyes of members of very ancient communities, the very type of all property, and the most sacred of all material rights. But if what has been urged above contain any truth, this is very far from being a correct view. On the contrary, antecedently to the historic events in which the old-established systems took their rise, there was no person or class which had, as against the community in general, a claim to the possession of the land. The claim to possession arises with the fact of the possession, and its economic justification wholly depends upon the use made of the privilege.

Prima facie, the land of every country belongs to the inhabitants of that country in their collective capacity. This doctrine is admitted and acted upon by all modern and civilised communities in founding colonies. The persons permitted to occupy

the land are called on to pay* a price for the permission, and the price is received by the Government on behalf of the community. This amounts to an assertion of the ultimate control of the community over the monopoly of the land.

It follows from all this, that the primary right to receive rent, in so far as it is the price of the monopoly, is vested, not in any person or class, but in the State as representing the community at large. In a new community, it would be generally admitted that the State might, if it pleased, instead of selling its land, lease it at a yearly rent. To do so or not, would be a mere question of general policy.

But it also follows from the remarks above made, that even if the State has parted with its control over the land of the community, and vested it in a privileged class, it has not parted irrevocably with it. For, the foundation of the right of property in land being the acquiescence of the community, and the implied condition of that acquiescence being the right use of the privilege, it follows that the moment the privilege becomes detrimental, its justification ceases. The State would therefore, in the last resort, be justified in resuming an abused privilege of this kind, and if in resuming it, then in taking any measure short of resumption to ensure its right use.

But, in truth, it can never be expedient for the State to part wholly with its interests in the land. Whatever may be said, and on whatever grounds, as to the expediency of the existence of a privileged class possessed of the land of a country, and living mainly on the rent, it is as certain as any proposition in Political Economy can be, that such a class ought not to be permitted to absorb the whole rent. And this for two reasons: In the first place, if a privileged class is permitted to acquire exclusive possession of the land, they will speedily come to regard themselves as having an unquestionable and unimpeachable title, and any attempt to exercise control over their arbitrary use of their privilege will be looked on as revolutionary.* Men are easily misled by words, and the use of the term "landed-property" by association leads them to place land on a level with all other kinds of property, and to resent any interference with what are called "landed-rights" with the same jealousy as an attempt to dictate to them in the use

* And will be revolutionary if the privileged class are only arbitrary enough, and the unprivileged strong enough, and no safety-valve exists in the general constitution of society. The French noblesse found out this to their cost in 1789-93.

of things which are indisputably their own, and upon which no other person has any claim. Now, all this false reasoning would have much less plausibility if the State asserted its right as the common owner, by reserving a part of the rent of all land that bore rent, and by retaining in a great measure the control of unoccupied land.

But there is a second reason why the State should reserve to itself a share of the rent of its land. That rent is, in the first instance, the price of the monopoly which, antecedent to the creation of a privileged class, is vested in the community. Rent, in so far as it is the monopoly price, is, therefore, the natural income of the community as such. The State, in reserving a share of the rent to be applied to public purposes, deprives nobody of anything to which he has a just claim. In proportion, therefore, as the public expenditure is met by rent (which is not a burthen to the community), the State is in a healthier condition than where the expenditure is met by taxation*. It seems, then, that the peculiar nature of landed-property requires the assertion of its ultimate ownership by the State in the reservation of a portion of the rent; and, further, that this share may be, and indeed ought to be, so considerable as to lighten in a great degree the burthen of taxation. In order that it may effectually do this, the amount must not be fixed, but must be adjusted so as to increase with the increase of the whole rent, and of course diminish with its diminution. Indeed, a fixed rent-charge *would tend* in a great degree to defeat one of its own objects—that of keeping up the idea of the ultimate ownership of the State.

It is requisite, at this point of the discussion, to meet certain objections. In the first place, it is urged that the ownership of the community simply means insecure title; that it is inconsistent with the durable interest vested in the improver of the soil, ~~which we have affirmed to be the true foundation of the right of~~ property in land. Individual tenants of the State, with the assertion of the right of the community hanging over their heads, will not, it is urged, as freely invest capital or bestow labour, as if they held their estates in perpetuity, and free from demands.

When we come to deal with some actual tenancies where the right of the State is practically asserted, we may have an opportunity of suggesting a more detailed reply to this argument. In the meantime it may suffice to say that, in the first place, expe-

* See Mill's Political Economy, book 5, ch. 2, § 5.

rience does not show that uncontrolled proprietorship favours improvement; but, on the contrary, that motives exist which not only keep proprietors from themselves investing in improvements, but actually induce them to hinder others from doing so. The community, on the contrary, supposing it well constituted, and, above all, self-governed in the true sense, can have no interest beyond providing for the public expenditure. A nation, as such, has no luxuries, except war. And although a governing class may have, and often has, interests antagonistic to those of the community, yet this only takes place where the community is not really self-governed. It would take us too far out of the region of economics, and into that of politics, to expand this line of thought. We must be content to assume that the State truly represents the community. And if it does, then in its capacity of landlord it may, at any rate, be trusted to let its tenants' improvement alone, and not to hinder them. But more than this. There are certain enterprises of improvement which the State, and it alone, can effectually carry out. Communications over large tracts of country, great schemes of drainage, and, in eastern countries, of irrigation,—these and the like enterprises must be under State control, if not actually undertaken by the State directly. The State must also, at all events in certain countries and conditions of society, exercise some control over such matters as the clearing of forests, or, on the other hand, the planting of wood where it does not already exist.

Generally it may be said that enterprises of strictly agricultural improvement fall under two classes: one relating directly to individual holdings, and securing its own return immediately; the other spreading over great areas, and securing its return at long intervals of time. For example, manuring improves the soil, or, at any rate, restores it powers at once: the capital laid out in it is returned next harvest. And if only one acre in a square-mile were manured, that acre would be no less and no more productive than if all the land round it were manured too. On the other hand, works of drainage or of irrigation require a vast outlay to be of any real use, and do not make their full return till after a delay of many years. With regard, therefore, to the first of these divisions, it does not matter very much on how small a scale the works are undertaken. The others, on the contrary, must necessarily be on a large scale, and it is manifestly best that they should be on the largest.

Now, individual proprietors, however large their estates, can seldom undertake such works on a sufficiently great scale.

They are mostly left to Joint Stock Companies. But Joint Stock Companies are a far less advantageous agency than the State. In the first place, it is obvious that the primary object is profit, which is not the primary object of State enterprise. Having once defrayed the expenses of its undertaking, the State will have no motive to enrich itself by demanding high prices for the advantages it supplies. The private Company has.

But what is much more important, these works, by whomsoever undertaken, are virtual monopolies ; and it is easy to see that monopolies must at least be controlled by the State, and probably are best when the State manages them wholly.

The necessity of State control over virtual monopolies is beginning to be much more generally acknowledged at the present day than it has hitherto been. Long ago the principle was directly admitted, that purely artificial monopolies ought not to be created, the only exception being that of patents granted for the encouragement of invention. But, until very lately, it used to be believed, and there are many who would still maintain, that so long as no legal prohibition against competing was enacted, it did not matter that the circumstances of a particular enterprise forbade real competition, and established monopolies as stringent as any patent. The most marked example of this is the English railway system "Private enterprise" was supposed to have reached its climax in covering England with railways. Yet the system does not work well ; and there are many who think that it ought from the first to have been managed by the State, and that the State ought even now to assume the management. The failure in a financial aspect does not touch the argument directly : though, in so far as it is attributable to the attempts on the part of certain lines to set up an impracticable competition, it may be taken as a proof of the position that they are, from circumstance, virtual monopolies. But what does bear directly on the position we are here maintaining, is the acknowledged inconvenience and even danger often attending on railway travelling, and arising mainly from the fact that railways are things over which the public have no control, and which are managed, in the first instance, with a view to the profits of certain Joint Stock Companies, and not to the safety or convenience of the public.

Here, then, is an instance of a virtual monopoly which, the public are beginning to find out, is utterly misplaced when left to private enterprise. And the reasoning which appears to

condemn private enterprise in the case of this monopoly, is equally applicable to all similar monopolies.

It seems, then, that enterprises of internal communication, as well as of direct agricultural improvement, can be undertaken by the State more effectively and more safely than by private proprietors or by Joint Stock Companies. This, we think, may be considered a conclusive answer to those who deny the expediency of taxes or rent, because, as they allege, rent is the fund from which capital is saved for agricultural improvement. Now, even if it were true that private landlords always saved capital out of their rent to improve their estates, we think it has been shown that the State can do this better than any private landlord, because it can do it on a larger scale. But all the world over, the landlords who spend part of their rents in improving their lands, are the exception, and not the rule.

These considerations appear to prove the expediency of a land tax, first, as an assertion of the common right of the inhabitants of a country to its land, antecedent to its assignment to any class; secondly, as being what we ventured to call the natural income of the community as such, and therefore of the State as representing the community, and, thirdly, as enabling the State to do its duty as lord of the soil, in a more effectual manner than any class of private owners.

We have asserted a right on the part of the State to vary the amount of this tax so as to correspond with the variations in the rent of the land. If the State be primarily entitled to the entire monopoly rent, it is clearly entitled to all the variations in the value of the monopoly. And if, by the action of the State, an increase is effected in the value of the whole land, or of any given portion, it will be readily admitted that the State is entitled to the increase of rent which corresponds to that increase of value which, as already pointed out, virtually unites with the monopoly price. And since the State is entitled to the whole, and to the variations in the whole, it is manifestly entitled to the variations in the part which, under the name of land tax, it may take as its share; for, as will be seen hereafter, the State can hardly ever receive the entire rent of its land, and there are many reasons why it ought not to attempt to do so.

The subject will hereafter lead us to consider, in an important practical instance, that of Indian Land Settlement, the question of a variable, as against a fixed, land tax. We shall therefore dismiss this part of the discussion with only one caution. We do

not for an instant wish to suggest that the power of increasing this tax should be made subservient to financial exigencies. On the contrary, we earnestly maintain that its fluctuations should depend wholly on the fluctuations in the rent itself.

Before passing to another stage in this discussion, we think it right to remind the reader that we set out with an admission of the probable unpopularity and unpracticalness of some of our conclusions. We have propounded a very abstract theory regarding the primary right of property in land; and we are perfectly aware of the many limitations and modifications this and all such theories must undergo in any application to practice. Indeed, there are many actual societies in which a theory of this kind must be inoperative for almost any practical purpose. We should not wish, for instance, to see the State in England assume the functions of universal landlord. We think the existence of the landlord class in England quite indefensible on theoretic grounds; but we are very far from agreeing with those extreme thinkers who look on them as a practical nuisance; and we are quite sure that superseding them wholesale would do more harm than good. Confiscation would be disastrous to the empire, and is not to be thought of; and even buying up their interests is a step few persons would propose, and one which we should earnestly deprecate. So of taxation on rent. We think the landlord class contributes a most unfairly small share to the national burthens, but we know of few measures that require so much caution as the imposition of a rent tax.

But, however inoperative in practice, the theory we have enunciated seems to us to be true, and we think we have proved it.

In the preceding pages we hope we have effectually dealt with the economic objections to State ownership and rent tax. There is, however, an objection on political grounds; and although we are not desirous of making this a political treatise, the question is worth discussing briefly, because we have admitted that political consequences may largely modify economic conclusions.

The objection is, that the Executive of the State for the time being, would have the disposal of the rents, independently of the Legislature; and that this is contrary to the well-known principle of constitutional government, which in England is expressed in the saying that the Commons have the power of the purse. This power of the purse is held to be a very strong safeguard of liberty and good government; and, as a matter of fact, it has

proved itself to be so. But it seems to us that it has, owing to the alteration of circumstances, lost much of its virtue. Formerly the kings of England, for example, when they wanted to encroach on the liberties of their subjects, had to create an armed force to help them. Without money they could not do this, and the money was not to be had but by applying to Parliament for it. Yet Charles I was able to raise a civil war whose event hung in the balance for years. And there can be little doubt that now, when standing armies are in existence in every country in Europe, any Executive which could induce the army to back it, could enforce obedience to its decrees, financial and other, in spite of any constitutional theory of the power of the purse. In the present state of relations between Executive Governments and subjects, it is in the loyalty of citizens to freedom and constitutional right, and in the loyalty of soldiers to their duty as citizens, that the safeguard of freedom must be placed; and not in the fiction of the House of Commons being able to starve the army.

And, as regards good government, it seems to us that our safeguard consists in the liberty of criticism which representative institutions give, and in the power which representative bodies possess of displacing and remodelling the Executive. No ministry can now, under ordinary circumstances, dispose of any sum of public money, no matter whence derived, without the approval of the Commons. They could not do it any more if the money were derived from a rent tax.

But it may be said that the Executive Government, being practically the landlord, might use its powers for purposes of corruption. This is to argue from a false analogy. Private landlords do use their powers in this way, and it is precisely for such purposes that they defend so strenuously the system of tenancy-at-will. But where there are no tenancies-at-will, the obnoxious power vanishes.

As a matter of fact, Executive Governments always have, and must have, public money and patronage at their disposal, which may be used for corrupt purposes. The source whence the money and the patronage are derived is not, from this point of view, a matter of very great moment. The money and the power must be entrusted to the discretion of the Executive for the time being; and the check must, in the long run, be mainly the publicity of a representative constitution.

It may also be argued, that to constitute the State, the supreme land-owner, would be enlarging unduly the func-

tions of Government. Fully to discuss this argument would be to open up the entire question of the limits of Government action—a subject much too wide to be treated here. But this much may be said: the considerations already urged go to show that, in the nature of things, the State must interfere in the arrangements regarding land, to a far greater extent than in those relating to any other kind of property, and that the interference is most beneficial when it assumes the form of asserting the supreme ownership of the community. We are entirely of one mind with those who claim that human individuality shall be as free as possible from State interference and control. But this freedom, we believe, is mainly of a moral nature; and where the institution of property is concerned, the freedom of the individual comes into direct contact with the freedom and material well-being of others, and the community, acting through its authorised leaders and in its aggregate capacity, becomes entitled to take cognizance of the relations so created. It is for this reason, as every one knows, that the second duty of the State, after providing for the safety of the lives and persons, and for the bodily freedom, of the citizens, is to regulate the institution of property; and, as has been already pointed out, land is the kind of property in which the community is most deeply concerned, and in regard to which the interference of public authority is most requisite.

Accordingly, it is precisely the political school most zealous for moral and legal freedom, which is also most prepared to accept State control of landed-property.

These remarks have been added in order to show that the doctrine we are attempting to enforce is as little assailable from its political as from its economic side. But our main purpose is to prove that the doctrine in question is economically tenable. Its political justification we can do no more than indicate. Nor is there any need to do so, in preparing the ground, as we are doing, for the discussion of an Indian question. India is in the state in which the first thing to be thought of is, the securing and maintaining material well-being. Individual freedom she possesses, so far as her circumstances will permit. Self-government, indeed, is impossible, and must be so—no one can say how long. Her rulers must be, and must continue to be, invested with much greater powers than those of any western community: and it is therefore for the present idle to criticise the sovereign's power over the land, as a

doctrine of Indian policy, from the point of view of western freedom, even if the criticism were in itself just.

Briefly, the supreme ownership of the State is not really a derogation from political freedom, rightly understood, and if it were, it is still justified by the circumstances of India. so that, as regards India, it is only necessary to make out a case for it on economic grounds.

The foregoing considerations have been urged with the object of showing, first, that the rent of land, in so far as it is the price paid for the use of a monopolised natural agent, may be legitimately appropriated by the State as representing the community; and, next, that there is no absolute inherent right in any body of persons, as distinct from the community, to enjoy the monopoly of land.

It is, however, obvious that only in the very rudest states of society can the collective ownership of the community be exercised directly. in other words, as society advances in civilisation, an increasing number of persons will be withdrawn from the practice of agriculture, to be engaged in other branches of industry. A class, more or less limited, must be entrusted with dominion over the land, for the supply of the wants of the rest. The problem of land tenure is to determine what are the conditions under which this class ought to exist. The end of a system of land tenure is, copious production combined with advantageous distribution of agricultural wealth. Over the conditions of production, social or legal arrangements can have but little direct influence.

The law can, it is true, forbid or discourage certain productions, and it is also possible to stimulate certain kinds of industry, agricultural and other, within limits imposed by natural conditions. A familiar instance is afforded by the beet-sugar manufacture of France. But the main influence exercised by social and legal arrangements is over distribution. The things once there, society can, in a very great measure, dispose of them as it pleases. The influence of these arrangements does also re-act upon production. Capital is more readily found where its return is firmly secured: labour is more effective when its remuneration is ample and constant. Now, in what way does society exert its power of governing the distribution of wealth? Not directly, by assigning to each of its members his share in the things possessed by the society or created by its industry. This would be a form of communism, and we are not now called upon to pronounce any judgment on that scheme.

The ordinary way in which society, as actually constituted, manages the distribution of wealth, is by assigning certain rights to its members, and protecting them in the enjoyment of these rights.

We are not now dealing with the science of Political Economy in general, and we must assume, on the part of those for whom we write, a general knowledge of the principles of that science. It will therefore suffice to take it as understood that the returns of industrial enterprise generally consist of profits, which are the share of the capitalists, and of wages, which are the share of the labourers who jointly carry on the industry in question. In the special case of industry applied to the land, there is a third thing included in its returns, called rent, the nature of which we have before explained. It is demonstrable, that so long as society abstains from forcibly adjusting these shares, wages, profits, and rent, will tend to adjust themselves by laws which economic science can ascertain. Roughly stated, wages adjust themselves by the competition of labour, and profits by the competition of capital. Rents, as already shown, are paid out of the surplus that remains after providing for the returns of labour and capital. Something on each of these points will have to be written as we come to discuss the classes concerned with the land.

Society, then, in general, may safely act on the principle that labour and capital belong to the labourers and capitalists respectively, and that each is to make the best bargain he can for himself. Capital is either something that a man saves out of his own personal gains, or something transmitted to him from another person who has so saved it. Capital therefore comes under the definition of private property, with which we set out. Its employment is something with which the community cannot interfere without sacrificing a higher and an ultimate utility for the sake of a lower and an immediate one. As to labour, we need not take much trouble to prove that it is wholly and solely the labourer's own, and that society has no control over it, save in exceptional and special circumstances.*

But land, as already pointed out, belongs in the first instance

* This statement, like many others in pure economic science, requires much modification in practice. An instance will readily occur—that of Poor Laws. The claim of support from the State becomes correlative to a claim on the part of the State against the labour of those supported. We must again plead that we are not writing a general treatise. The labour question is a very large one, and can only be incidentally touched here.

to nobody. Society is therefore compelled to make some choice as to the way in which dominion over it shall be exercised. We have already intimated that in ancient communities a series of events in no wise connected with economic science actually determined this choice. But it is at least an interesting speculation to try to ascertain how economic science would have solved the question.

The principle has been already laid down, that the expenditure of labour and capital in improvement is what gives a claim to permanent interest in land. It is admitted that security of tenure is an indispensable condition even of preventing deterioration. In order that the land may give an equable supply of its produce, it must be kept from being exhausted, and this alone demands skill, outlay, and labour. *A fortiori*, greater skill, greater outlay, and greater labour, are required, if increasing supplies are to be procured. Our problem is to determine in what way the greatest efficiency is to be attained for these

The persons actually and directly engaged in the cultivation of the soil may be divided into two classes: capitalists cultivating with the assistance of hired labour, and labourers cultivating with capital which they either find for themselves or borrow from a capitalist. The former class is most commonly found in connexion with proprietors of large estates. The capitalist who engages in the cultivation of land by means of hired labour, is usually called a farmer: and if he pays rent for his land, he is a tenant farmer.

The labourer who supplies or borrows his cultivating capital, is usually called a peasant. We shall use the words farmer, or capitalist farmer, and peasant, as strictly as we can in these senses.

Now, it is clear that both farmer and peasant, whether direct tenants of the State, or tenants of private landlords, may hold for a term, or at will; or the law may be so constructed that the cultivator, be he capitalist or peasant, should himself be proprietor. It is easy enough to understand that the closer the *status* of the cultivator approaches to that of proprietor, or, in other words, the greater the fixity of his tenure, the greater security there is, not only for the comfort of the cultivator himself, but for the goodness of his husbandry, provided that other social and economic conditions be not hostile and sufficiently strong to defeat the tendency of permanent tenure. For example, if a cultivator be in possession under a long lease, or in perpetuity, of sufficient land to maintain himself and his immediate family in comfort,

then the continuance of that comfort will mainly depend upon the prudence of the cultivator and his family in so providing for themselves and their descendants that the land shall not be overburdened. And as to the goodness of the cultivator's husbandry, it is obvious, *a priori*, and is a matter of every-day experience, that the more secure the possession of a holding, the less is the holder's temptation to commit any of the various forms of imprudence by which land is injured, seeing that the loss will fall on himself or his own descendants, and not on strangers.

We do not mean to say that the motives here assigned for prudence will always prevail. We are quite well aware that these motives are open to counteraction, and in practice are actually counteracted by various conflicting ones. Of this hereafter - meantime it is sufficient for our purpose to point out the fact that permanency of tenure is a favourable condition as well for the promotion of good cultivation as for the personal advantage of the cultivator.

We have already seen that the right to that share of the produce of land which is called rent, resides in the community at large, antecedently to its assignment to any class. In order to test the expediency of assigning the proprietorship of land to one or other of the various classes on whom it is possible to confer it, we must examine the tendency which will be developed in each class.

Let us first consider the case in which each member of the class shall, or may, possess a landed estate large enough to afford him, in the form of rent alone, an income which shall at least suffice for his support. A member of such a class may of course resolve to expend capital, and cultivate his estate by the assistance of hired labourers. In such a case his position will resemble that of a capitalist farmer, as will be seen when we come to discuss that class.

But when it is postulated that the income derived from rent shall be sufficient to maintain the receiver, it is manifest that he may elect to live wholly on such income. And in that case, he will let his estate to one or more farmers or peasants, from whom he will draw rent. Now, here it is plain, that granting permanency of tenure to such tenants is not the landlord's most obvious interest. It is true that by contracting for a term, he guards himself against loss in bad harvests if he debars himself of gain in good ; but the majority of mankind are prone to reckon the chances of gain, and neglect those of loss. And the evil of precarious cultivation is not easily to be distinguished from

accidental loss, until it has reached a stage at which remedy becomes extremely difficult. Besides, love of power is flattered by the possession of complete control of property ; and it will be seen hereafter that circumstances may be such as to produce a false impression that the power in question is not mischievous.

The tendency of such a state of things will be to raise the rent (which is the price of the monopolised article—land) to its highest rates, and this for the benefit of a class of persons who, at any rate, are not compelled to make any return of any kind to the community, for that which they gratuitously receive. Its primary effect will therefore be, to raise up a class living at the expense of the community, possessing control over a commodity essential to the common well being, and yet having interests antagonistic to the interests of all the rest. That these tendencies have never had their full effect, is due to a variety of causes, some of which we shall have to investigate. But that such tendencies exist, and that they produce effects disastrous in the extreme, is a fact proved by only too strong evidence.

It will be easily seen that the tendencies of an insecure tenure are more mischievous when the mass of the cultivators are peasants than when they are capitalist farmers. The latter are mostly found in communities where agriculture is only one of many co-ordinate industries ; the former are chiefly found where the great mass of the population are employed in agriculture, and other modes of industry are few and subordinate. Now, on the one hand, where there are many modes of employment for capital, arrangements which press upon one of these are less injurious than if it stood alone ; and, on the other, the greater enlightenment which for the most part is found in commercial communities, re-acts upon the landed proprietors, and makes them better aware of their true interests. Accordingly, a farmer is better able to protect himself than a peasant, because he can carry his capital elsewhere ; and his landlord is less likely to fancy it his interest to press hardly upon the tenant.

This is the true explanation of the fact that English systems of land tenure appear to be successful in spite of economic reasons why they ought to be failures. A great deal of land in England is held nominally from year to year ; but the farmer knows that he has the practical security of tenure which custom gives, and he invests his labour and capital on that security, though not with the same reliance as he would feel if he held a long lease, or were himself a proprietor. The prosperity of English agriculture is often pointed to as an argument of the

"*solvitur ambulando*" sort, against all who assert the scientific theory of land tenure. But if what we have said above contains any truth, it prospers in spite of being unscientific, and in consequence of causes which neutralise the inherent vices of the system, and it is therefore rather one of the exceptions which prove the rule. But the case is very much altered where peasants are in question. A peasant tenantry holding at will, has always been characterised by poverty and bad husbandry. The most marked example of this is, of course, Ireland. Here every thing concurred to bring out in strong relief the vices of the system of tenancy-at-will. A teeming population, with the most imprudent habits, lived wholly on the produce of the soil, having no manufactures and no commerce, and being under the influence of a strong attachment to their native land, which rendered emigration so distasteful that it needed famine and pestilence to force them to it. That in such a state of things competition for land should produce rack-renting, was only natural. To do the landlords justice, they were seldom hard. Nor was the poverty of the country their fault. It was the fault of a policy which prohibited manufactures and commerce and every other source of wealth to the country, and drove its inhabitants back on the land as their only means of subsistence. It was also, in part, the fault of habits of early marriage leading to undue multiplication. The Irish landlords certainly did not improve their lands; but in this respect they were no worse than their English brethren. Improvements seldom originate with landlords, though they may adopt and forward them. But the more the excuses that are made for the Irish landlords individually, the more effectual becomes the condemnation of the system of which they formed part, and which now, though its worst mischiefs have been done long ago, and, it may be hoped, cannot be repeated, is in such a state that its faults and their remedies are equally intolerable. It appears then, that an unlimited freedom of action on the part of landlords is not wholly incompatible with public well-being in communities possessed of various means for the employment of labour and capital, and in which cultivation is chiefly carried on by capitalists; but that it is inconsistent with public well-being in countries whose sole industry is agricultural.

It is desirable, at this stage of the discussion, to put on record the admission that landed-aristocracies, that of England in particular, have been of considerable utility: but their utility has

been social and political, rather than economic. It would be travelling too far from the province of economic speculation, and trespassing too much on that of history, to discuss the action of feudal aristocracies on the progress of society. The position of the body of English landholders was eminently favourable to the acquisition and the beneficial use of political influence. From the earliest times, they have mediated between the crown and the people and it is in no small degree due to their action, that the monarchy never became despotic, and that democracy has not yet become revolutionary. It is needless, and in a work of this kind it is out of place, to record the political and social services of the gentry of England. But we would invite attention to the fact that these services were rendered by men who, on the whole, abstained from using to the full extent the privilege of getting all they could out of their tenants, and dealing arbitrarily with their properties. And however fully the English landlord might, in individual cases, exercise the rights of property, he seldom forgot that there were duties annexed to those rights. The old feudal relation of lord and vassal and retainer died out; but it left its traces in the constitution of society, and the feudal superior of past centuries is the local justice, the local administrator, the guardian of the poor, and, what is by no means of minor importance, the local leader of society of to-day.

It has been already pointed out that there are circumstances in the economic position of England which mitigate, in a very considerable degree, the evils of unrestrained landlordism. And it is to be further remarked that, however apparently untenable the position of a given privileged class may be in abstract theory, the danger and the injustice of attacking privileges in practice may be so great as to render the anomaly more tolerable than its correction. It is probable that no statesman who guided himself by scientific principle, would at this day, attempt to create a landed-aristocracy; but neither would a statesman of practical sagacity think himself justified in attempting to revolutionise such a system, if it had been useful in the past, and now were working well.

It may be expected that in dealing with this part of the subject, something will be said on a question much discussed at the present day, *viz.*, the laws and customs regulating succession to real property, and in particular those of Entail and Primogeniture.

It may be sufficient, however, to pass over these points.

with a very brief notice. The subject to which these general remarks are introductory is a practical one, and in it there is no question of primogeniture or of entail. These are purely matters of English politics : and our references to England are intended merely to illustrate our arguments, and, in a measure, to combat certain fallacious assumptions that things must be right because they are English. We may then just say, with regard to the points indicated, that the power of entail appears to us to be an unnecessary and inexpedient extension of the right of disposing of private property. We think it is essential to that right, that an owner should have the power of transferring his goods once for all by bequest or gift. But we do not see any necessity for his having power to regulate a series of future transfers, especially after his death. And as to land in particular, the power of "tying it up," as it is called, is manifestly a detraction from the general control of the community, which we have elsewhere stated to be essential.

Primogeniture we look upon as a question, not of Political Economy, but of what may be called the morality of property. Its retention or abolition in any given community seems wholly to depend on whether more importance is attached to the moral claims of all children to participate alike in the property of an intestate parent, or to the expediency, real or imaginary, of maintaining a certain kind of distribution of land. In one word, they are both questions related to an aristocracy of large landowners. Such an aristocracy, as we have shown, is not an economic necessity. It may turn out, according to circumstances, a social benefit, as the English landed-class, on the whole, has. On the other hand, it may prove a social nuisance, like too many of such classes all over the world. In the first case, it may be worth while to keep up entails and primogeniture for the sake of the benefits derived from the existence of the class. In the second case, the institutions that keep alive the class are included in its condemnation.

In connexion with this part of the subject it may be remarked that where a purely rent-receiving class of landowners exists, it is distinctly expedient that the numbers of such class be subject to limitation, provided always that they be sufficiently numerous to leave room for fair competition. Of course, if landlords be very few in number, they can more easily combine ; and as they will still constitute a class, having interests distinct from, and possibly hostile to, those of the rest of the community, they may use their powers of combining to the public detri-

ment. But, on the other hand, a too numerous class of landlords is apt to do mischief in another way. In the first place, the more numerous they are, the poorer they are likely to be, and the less, therefore, will be their power of accumulating the capital requisite for doing the works which are required of them. It has been already pointed out, that certain works can only be executed with full effect by the State, because it alone can work on a sufficiently large scale. Parity of reasoning will show that, as between large and small estates, the advantage in matters of this kind is greatly on the side of the large estates. But this is not all. The amount of "surplus profits," which is to be distributed among the class, being supposed the same, the greater will be the necessity that the whole of it be absorbed by the class, so that no margin whatever may be left to return to the actual cultivators. Hence, the practices of short leases, tenancy-at-will, and rack-renting, are more likely to hold ground among a numerous landlord class. It might be imagined that the laws of primogeniture and entail would, at any rate, tend to hold in check evils of this kind. And so they do in a degree, but not so largely as might be supposed at first sight; for entailed lands are not uncommonly "saddled" with provisions for younger children, so that what seems to be a large undivided estate is really the property of a body of persons, of whom the nominal landlord is virtually only the trustee. This is just as fatal to accumulation and improvement on his part as if the estate were actually divided, and just as likely to lead to short leases and rack rents. And, moreover, the limitation of numbers, in this instance, may leave open all the power of combining, while the temptation to abuse proprietary rights is still present, and the ability to use them beneficially no longer exists.

Enough has now been said on the economic position of the landlord class. If we have appeared to dwell too exclusively upon the evils incident to their existence, we may be able to justify ourselves by the following considerations. In the first place, if it be true that their existence is not an economic necessity, the burden lies on their supporters, and not on the writer of an economic discourse, of showing what is their *raison d'être*. In the next place, we have admitted that in some cases they have justified their existence by national services, though rarely by the kind of services Political Economy demands of them. Lastly, we are not writing with a view to English politics; and, if we were, we should have no fear that any criticism

of ours would much damage an institution so intimately bound up with the actual structure of English society. Englishmen owe too much to their gentry to be afraid of hearing the truth about them; and it may be that the gentry themselves need to be reminded of their own shortcomings, lest they fancy that they can rely entirely on social and political services, and refuse to acknowledge their duty in promoting the material wealth of the country.

But these facts need more particularly to be dwelt upon, because a certain class of thinkers are disposed to set up the exceptional services of the English aristocracy as a reason for trying to create similar classes elsewhere. Our landlords, they say, have not on the whole, abused their powers. In some few cases they have greatly improved their properties. At all events, they have been a valuable political order in the State. *Therefore* let us make others like them in Bengal for example. It is to show the weakness of this kind of reasoning that we have criticised so severely the economic defects of the class. We want to show that when you have made your landlord, the probability is that you will have got only a rack-renter, instead of an improver and social political leader.

In what has been already said, we have endeavoured to show the right and duty of the State, as representing the community, to take upon itself the privileges, and undergo the responsibilities, of supreme landowner, and we have pointed out the danger of abdicating the privileges in favour of a minority who may be, and commonly are, tempted to shirk the responsibilities.

We now address ourselves to a far more difficult task—that of ascertaining what ought to be the action of the State with regard to the classes actually engaged in the work of cultivation.

As we have before remarked, these classes are susceptible of a great twofold division—that of farmers and peasants. The farmer is a capitalist, large or small, and is assisted by hired labourers; and his relation to the farm is analogous to that of the factory-owner to the factory.

In treating of capitalist farmers, it will, therefore, be necessary to deal also with the class of day-labourers engaged in agriculture under farmers. The peasant farmer is a labourer cultivating generally no more land than just supplies work to himself and his family, and finding the capital for this industry himself; that is, either possessing it of his own, or borrowing it from another person, who may be the same to whom the peasant pays rent.

Though the distinction between these classes is obvious enough, yet it is not easy to say exactly at what point the one separates from the other. Except on the very minutest allotments, it cannot be said that hired labour will never be wanted: and, on the other hand, it is not easy to fix the exact quantity of land, which (say) a family seven in number can always cultivate without hired assistance. But there is such a maximum, though a vague one, and beyond that maximum the capitalist may be said to begin.

There are two questions in the political economy of land tenure, whose answer is absolutely essential to the framing a correct theory, and which it is of the utmost importance to keep distinct, though they are commonly confused, and their confusion leads to most erroneous reasoning. First, whether is the farmer or the peasant the more useful producer; or, in other words, is cultivation on a large or on a small scale more efficient? Secondly, whether the distribution of wealth among the cultivating class is better organised where the bulk of the class are capitalist farmers and labourers, or where the bulk of the class are peasants?

These questions, we say, must be kept distinct. It might be perfectly true that farmers produced more than peasants, and yet the produce might be so unequally distributed as to give a manifest advantage to the peasants. We think it is fully within the province of the political economy of land tenure to enquire whether one system, however superior as an instrument of production, tends to produce pauperism in a very large section of the community; and whether another system, even if less efficient, tends to guard against that evil. And if it be found that this is so, it may be permitted to practical statesmanship to decide that it requires very great superiority, as an instrument of production, to induce a preference for the former system over the latter.

We are quite well aware that we are here treading on dangerous ground. We may be told that Political Economy has nothing to do with the distribution of wealth, but only with its production, or, at any rate, that it has only to investigate sequences, without any jurisdiction over social arrangements which are their antecedents. The first of these propositions we deny: the latter we admit with limitation. That, as a science, Political Economy can only investigate, we admit; but we plead that the science of Political Economy can and ought to guide the art of practical statesmanship in those matters on which the science

can throw light. And we contend that if the contrast be presented to a statesman, between a community organised for the utmost efficiency in production, yet containing a considerable leaven of pauperism, and a community less efficiently organised for production, but whose institutions are more calculated to guard against pauperism, the statesman is obliged to act upon a preference (which in our opinion should be in favour of the latter), in founding institutions tending to one or the other result. But if the superiority in one respect turns out to be real and great, and in the other to be only apparent; or, if real extremely small in comparison, in that case at least it is obvious that practical statesmanship ought to be directed towards producing the result that manifestly tends to yield the most advantage.

We return, then, to the questions formerly proposed. And first, are farmers more effective producers than peasants?

A very common mode of answering this question is, to assume certain countries as respectively typical of the systems, and to infer the success of each system from a comparison of these countries.

England is usually, and indeed necessarily, taken as the type of the farm system; France as that of the peasant system. It is confidently affirmed that English agriculture is vastly more successful than the agriculture of France; and it is said that French cultivators work harder with an inferior result. This may be true, though we doubt it: but we hold that the comparison between England and France is a very misleading one. It is founded mainly on the computation that two-thirds of the population of France are agriculturists, and only one-third of that of England. Hence, it is inferred that while in France the labour of two cultivators maintains only three persons, in England the labour of two cultivators maintains six: and according to this estimate, English labour is twice as productive as French. This might be true, if no food were imported into either country, and if the agriculture of both countries were employed solely in the production of food. But as food is largely imported into England, we should know precisely the proportion between the food importation of England and that of France, before we ventured to make any statement as to the proportion of the population supported on home-grown food in each country. This one consideration is sufficient to render the whole estimate so uncertain that its force in argument is greatly reduced. And when it is further considered that a very large quantity of

the produce of French agriculture is exported, in the shape of wine, brandy, and silk, to England and all parts of the world, while England produces hardly anything but food, we think it may fairly be said that the argument from the relative proportions of the agricultural populations has no value whatever.

It must be remembered, too, that France is not a good specimen of the system of "petite culture." It would be much fairer to compare English agriculture with that of some of the countries where peasant proprietorship is in a healthier condition—the Channel Islands, for example, or Norway. But this is a subject on which volumes have been written, and it is impossible to discuss it fully within our limits. The best treatise on this special question, is, probably, Thornton's *Plea for Peasant Properties*; and the reader will find the results of the latest investigations summed up in the second book of Mr. Mill's *Political Economy*. It may be admitted that there are certain causes which tend to render cultivation on the small scale less effective in proportion to the labour employed, than on the large. These are chiefly difficulties in obtaining mechanical aid to labour, and a certain want of economy in the matter of farm buildings, conveyance to market, and the like. It is true that a farm of twenty acres will apparently require far more buildings in proportion to its size, than one of a thousand acres. But it must be remembered that some part of the building on the small farm is really accommodation for the labourers employed on it, (though these are not *called* by that name, being the peasant and his family,) and this must be set off against the labourer's residence for the large farm. Still there will be a disproportion in the matter of building, which will be in favour of the larger establishment. So there will be an advantage in the large scale of conveyance to market, and in other matters which may be called incidental and auxiliary; and of course where steam ploughs, reaping machines, and other machinery, are employed, the larger establishment will have an obvious superiority. But in the ordinary operations, this superiority, if it exists at all, is by no means marked. Possibly there may be some advantage in employing a number of labourers all in the same operation at once; but it does not very clearly appear that they have any advantage over an equal number of independent peasants working each at his own patch of land. But probably the chief superiority of the large farmer over the peasant lies in this, that the large farmer is in

a much better position to acquire knowledge and to display the kind of energy which is requisite in experiments of improvement. Here, however, it may be remarked that the authors of nearly all experiments of improvement—in England at least—have been men who cultivated land which they also owned; that most of them have had other means of living besides agriculture, and that some of them have been men whose habits of enterprise were first acquired in commercial life.

It is further to be observed that very much in the matter depends on considerations of climate and soil, and of the kind of produce required to be raised. Pasture requires larger areas of ground than the cultivation of grain or the like; and grain crops, though it is possible to grow them in small plots, can be raised with more profit from comparatively large surfaces. Grain, indeed, and many other kinds of produce, are only of use when collected in considerable quantity; for though it is possible to grind and prepare grain for food by the labour of a single household, the process involves very great waste of labour, and one of the earliest steps in civilisation is to substitute machinery for hand-power in the preparation of food. So, again, of cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and many such crops. These can only be used in very considerable quantity, and it may be said of some of them that it is absolutely impossible to manipulate them by the labour of a single household. But even in these instances, the advantage of cultivation on the large scale lies rather in the facility of collection than in the cultivation itself.

It appears to us that the advantages of "grande culture" may be summed up thus:—

An advantage in the larger measures of improvement, such as communications, irrigation or drainage, the planting or cleaning of large tracts of country, and the like,—which, however, are properly the work of landlords, or, according to what has been said above, of the community.

An advantage in buildings, against which, however, are to be set the residences of the labourers.

An advantage in conveyance to and from market, and purchasing on a larger scale.

An advantage in the facility of collection of produce that can only be manipulated on a great scale.

An advantage in facility for experiments of improvement.

But, after making all allowance for these advantages, the statistics of the question, for which we must again refer to Mill and Thornton and the authorities they quote, appear to prove

that, at all events, there is no very marked superiority in the productiveness of the large over the small farms.

We will now proceed to the other inquiry stated above—whether, under the system of capitalist farming, the *distribution* of wealth is in a healthy condition; and, if not, whether any remedy can be applied to its defects.

It will be at once admitted that the possession of the soil by capitalists, in areas many times too large to be cultivated by a single family, renders necessary the employment of hired labourers. Now, field labour, on the whole, is that which requires least skill, so long, that is, as the labour is confined to the execution of mechanical acts, without the labourer's taking part in the intelligent direction of his own labour to a given end. The farmer who superintends and manages all, does indeed find occasion for developing intelligence of no mean kind; but the mere acts of ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding, reaping, hedging, and ditching, tending cattle or sheep, and such like, require nothing beyond a certain amount of physical strength, endurance, and faculty of imitation. Hence, the wages of agricultural labour are lower than the wages of almost every other kind of labour. There is less power of saving, less stimulus to improve their condition, and consequently less motive to restrain multiplication; and, besides all this, a lower degree of intelligence is developed in these labourers than in almost any other class. So also their standard of living is lower, and they are the last to perceive any relation between the rate of wages and the increase or diminution of their numbers. This relation, indeed, is only dimly seen as yet by any class of wage-paid workers; but it may safely be affirmed that it is utterly unknown to the agriculturist. So that not only is the farm labourer the worst paid (which he might be, and yet enjoy a sufficiency of comfort), but his condition inevitably tends to pauperism, and is continually falling into it.

It may be said that the above statement applies to all industries *mutatis mutandis*, and not to agricultural labour alone. Wherever there is a large capital applied to production on the great scale, there will be hired labour; and wherever there is a tendency to over-population, there will be a tendency to pauperism.

We admit that the question ultimately resolves itself into one of population. If the community multiplies faster than the means of support increase, it will become poor. If any

class increases faster than its special means of support, it will become poor. The question before us is, how the class employed in agriculture can be taught not to pauperise itself.

It is a well known fact that a high standard of comfort tends to produce habits of prudence. The desire to enjoy permanently, and to increase, one's customary comforts and business ; the desire to provide against sickness, accident, and old age ; and the desire to secure a comfortable living to one's children, are motives which actuate almost all men, though in widely different degrees. They are motives which have played a part of the very highest importance in developing civilisation ; and they may be said to be the very main springs of human action, as far as the science of Political Economy is concerned.

Now, the development of prudence is only possible where the results of a man's actions are capable of being foreseen, and in some measure controlled, by the man himself. Saving, for example, is of no use when some one may come and take away your savings against your will. Industry is without much motive when it goes to enrich some one else, and leaves the owner of the labour exactly where it found him. But supposing these contingencies guarded against, still prudence in a labourer is impossible, or, at any rate, difficult, unless he foresees the results of his conduct upon the increase or diminution of his wages. Now, the rate of wages depends upon the proportion between the amount of the wage-fund and the number of the labourers. In the case of ordinary labourers, the wage-fund is a vague, unknown quantity, invisible to the labourer himself. All he knows is that wages rise and fall : and he may possibly obtain a dim idea of the fact that numbers and competition may have to do with this rise and fall, by seeing himself underbid in his own local market for employment. But when his wage-fund takes the definite and concrete shape of a piece of land which he is to till, and from whose produce he is to maintain himself, the aspect of things changes. The relation between population and wages then becomes thus far at least clear—that if he divides his land among several children, each of them will be poorer in proportion to the increase of their numbers. This, if there be any prudence in his character, is a direct check upon undue multiplication. This meets one of the common objections to peasant farming. It is said that peasant farming leads to over-population and consequent sub-division of land into parcels too small to be effectively cultivated. Now, it is perfectly true that where a class in possession of land has

a tendency to multiply, and where it is usual, or legally compulsory, to divide estates among all the children, land will be broken up into very small parcels. But it is not true that the system of peasant farming is the cause of the tendency to overpopulate. If what we have said above be true, it must be actually a check on the tendency. It is not pretended that the check will be always effectual. And it certainly will not operate, unless the peasant farmer is assured that he and his will benefit by prudence and self-control. If the benefits can be taken away by the will of another, the prudence and self-control will not be exercised. So also with the desire of accumulating capital, and the willingness to use such capital for improving land. No farmer, capitalist, or peasant, will care to save, or to invest his savings in his land, under an insecure tenure or a rack-rent.

We must here guard against a misconception common among persons who discuss economic questions without understanding them. We do not mean to say, nor does any economic writer that we know of, that peasant proprietorship, or peasant farming with fixed tenure, will infallibly produce prudence. We are perfectly well aware that habits may have been formed which no change of circumstances will immediately eradicate. There are races among whom early marriage is a religious obligation. Such races would, and do, multiply rapidly under any system of land tenure. But it is an ascertained fact that even these races do not marry so early, nor multiply so fast, under peasant proprietorship as under tenancy-at-will. We shall have to illustrate this fact further on, when we come to the special subject of land tenure in India. All we need say at present is, that Political Economy claims only to point out the tendency of peasant proprietorship (or fixity of tenure) to check that increase of population which leads to pauperism, and to mitigate, even if it does not neutralise, the habits which lead to overpopulation, where such habits exist. Briefly, economic science teaches this, that the peasant proprietor, or farmer with fixed tenure, has a motive for prudence, which may indeed be overpowered by counteracting causes, but which still exists, and has some weight; whereas the cottier, or the common labourer, has none, or, at all events, none comparable in force and visibility.

This being the case, it seems to us a mistake to expect that an immediate improvement can be effected by turning a community of tenants-at-will into a community of peasant proprietors. The habits of centuries, which have grown into a

national character, cannot be changed in a day, or even in a generation.

It may even be that such a measure would appear at first to produce actual mischief. It would not be until the habits of imprudence had been conquered, that the benefit of the change would begin to be felt.

One of the evils to which a change of the kind mentioned would be very likely to give rise, is sub-letting. And, indeed, it is a stock objection to peasant proprietors, that they have a tendency to turn into petty landlords. When they do, we fully admit that they constitute the most mischievous sort of landlords. But it is not every community of peasant proprietors that does this. Such communities, indeed, are the exception. Where anything of the kind has taken place, it will be found that some or all of the conditions are always present. In the first place, the sub-letting peasant belongs to a race in which labour is despised, and in which leisure is counted a chief luxury. Love of power is frequently characteristic of such races. In the second place, it is very likely that the sub-letting individuals are not properly peasant farmers at all,* but owners or lessees of land which is extensive enough to require the assistance of hired labourers to cultivate. Where this is the case, and if there is sufficient competition for land to make it worth a pretty high rent, a lazy or ignorant owner, or one who possesses insufficient capital, is likely to choose to let the whole or part of it, instead of cultivating it. Or, thirdly, it may be that the so-called sub-tenant is practically a serf—a case by no means uncommon in India.

But sub-letting, like sub-division, ultimately resolves itself into a question of population. And population depends very much upon national character, which itself is formed by many causes, the tenure of land being one, and a very important one, though not all-important in this point, as political economists are falsely accused of asserting.

It seems, then, that capitalist farming has an advantage though a slight one, in regard to production, and peasant proprietorship a decided advantage as regards distribution. Cottier tenancy-at-will is good for neither one nor the other. The position of a peasant farmer with a secure tenure is far more

* It is a common blunder to confound Irish "middlemen" with peasant farmers holding long leases, and to assert that Irish farmers once possessed fixity of tenure, and only used it to sub-let. The "middleman" was not a peasant. In England he might have prospered as a Capitalist farmer, but having no skill and no capital, and a great deal of spurious ambition, he became a petty landlord instead.

calculated to develop intelligence, prudence, and self-control, than that of a day-labourer or a tenant-at-will. And, therefore, the existence of a class of such peasants along with capitalist farmers and day-labourers, and holding an intermediate position between the two, appears to be an admirable economic condition for raising the standard of living among day-labourers, and correcting the imperfections in the matter of the distribution of wealth, which have been shown above to attach to the system of large farms.

It might, I think, be reasonably hoped, that the existence of such a class would tend to develop among day-labourers the precise qualities in which they are now most wanting. Members of the day-labouring class would be stimulated to strive for a place among such farmers,—a place where the kind of knowledge and experience they already possessed would be of use to them in bettering their condition in life. And if peasant farmers exerted themselves, as they probably would do, to become capitalists, it is likely that a constant ascent in the social scale would begin to take place, and to produce effects highly beneficial to the community.

What we have said is undoubtedly open to the objection that a system in which large farms and small were carried on side by side never has existed, and that there are very great difficulties attaching to the working of any such system. It is often urged, and no doubt with considerable force, that to introduce peasant properties into England,* for example, where great estates and great farms are the rule, would only result in throwing a number of small properties into the market, to be brought up and annexed by the nearest great proprietor. England is, however, in this respect wholly exceptional. Circumstances in her political and social history have given a peculiar value to land, with which its use as an instrument of production has nothing to do.

On the other hand, France, assumed, though we think wrongly, to be the typical country of a peasant proprietary, has, at all events, shown no tendency to abandon the system in favour of the great farms alleged by some English writers to be so much more productive.

But this only shows that the popular method of referring every question of this kind to a naked comparison between France and England is utterly fallacious and misleading.

† As we have already stated, when we refer to England, we do so for illustration only, and without any attempt to treat of English policy.

It may, however, be assumed, that if there is a real economic advantage in large farms, they will come into existence by the natural operation of economic laws, starting from a peasant proprietary, in at least as healthy a way as if they were the result of the letting of their estates by great landlords. It may, in a certain sense, be said that a healthy condition of tenures is more likely to be reached by beginning with a peasant proprietary than in any other way. For in this way it is pretty certain that capital will employ itself in consolidating farms to the extent demanded by the requirements of production, and to that extent only. In other words, the cultivators will be much better judges of the extent to which consolidation is required, than the class whose primary concern in the matter is to get rent.

The propositions maintained in the preceding pages may be briefly summarised as follows :—

The community, as the ultimate owner of the land, may assert, and in some cases ought to assert, its ownership, through the instrumentality of the State, and may receive, and in some cases ought to receive, a substantial portion of the rent of land.

There is no economic necessity for the existence of a class of landowners whose primary privilege is the receipt of the rent. Such classes have rendered, in certain cases, political services, but have not habitually rendered the economic services which alone would entitle them to absolute ownership. They have, in some instances, actually stood in the way of others in rendering such services; and their position places them under temptations to neglect their duties.

On the other hand, they are not necessarily mischievous; and when they are working well, and their existence is in harmony with the other institutions of their country, morality and general policy forbid revolutionary attacks on them.

With regard to the actual cultivators, permanency of tenure is an indispensable requisite, both to the well-being of the cultivator himself, and to his efficiency as a producer. Holders of large farms, as being more or less capitalists, and as being almost universally found in a society where there are many forms of industry, can generally hold their own against landlords, and secure a measure of permanency, though not always a sufficient one. Peasants cannot do this, because peasant farming is almost always found in states of society where agriculture is the sole industry. Hence, the peasant cannot

be left to what is called, erroneously, "freedom of contract," in the same way as the capitalist.

Peasant proprietors cannot be proved inferior to farmers as producers, and the *status* of the peasant proprietor is greatly superior to that of the agricultural labourer. It seems probable that the admixture of peasant properties with large farms would be a highly favourable condition both for the production and for the distribution of agricultural wealth; and it seems also probable that the approach to that condition would be best made from the side of a *régime* of peasant properties.

As the political services of landlords have been relied on in defence against criticisms on economic grounds, so the supposed connexion of peasant proprietary with certain forms of political life has been used as a reply to allegations of its economic advantage. It is admitted above, that a landlord class (that of England) has rendered services of no mean value to liberty and good government. But it is impossible to urge that those services were the effect of the economic condition of the class.

On the other hand, peasant proprietary is commonly identified with bureaucracy and despotic Government. Switzerland and Norway are cases in point to prove that the connexion is not necessary. France and Prussia are apparent instances the other way. But France and Prussia were governed by despots and administered by bureaux long before either had a peasant proprietary, and there seems to be a possibility that both nations at some future time may attain free institutions, of which they already possess a semblance and a germ, without abandoning their existing systems of tenure.

The most bureaucratically administered empire in Europe, that of Russia, is only now beginning to think of instituting a peasant proprietary.

It would seem as if bureaucracy constituted a stage through which the nations of continental Europe are compelled to pass on their way to more liberal institutions. In France and in some other continental countries, feudalism held on until it became an anachronism and an absurdity. When it was at last superseded, the only substitute that appeared possible, perhaps the only one really possible, was government by means of professionally trained administrators. English history has, in this respect, as in so many others, been altogether singular and exceptional. Here a democratic spirit gradually infused itself into our institutions, but feudalism has never been formally superseded; and though its forms are not now connected with

a vestige of real power, they continue to influence the channels through which the real power is exercised. What is called local self-government, is a relic either of feudalism or of the popular franchises which the middle ages established as checks on feudalism. The forms of English administration are derived from the time when the administrators were of necessity either members of the feudal aristocracy, or representatives of local popular privileges. To this day, the command of the militia, the local administration of justice, the management of highways, the police of towns, the relief of the poor, and even the primary education of the people, are all primarily in the hands either of landowners or of vestries and municipal boards. It may almost be said that there is no class of professional administrators, for the bar is something very much wider than a training school for judges.

It is not part of our plan to discuss the relative merits of these systems. It will suffice to say, that as the English system is the product of a very peculiar history, so it is not possible consciously to re-produce it, be its merits what they may. The attempt has been made, and is a conspicuous failure. The whole apparatus of English feudalism, with its great landlords, its justices of the peace, its municipal and parochial systems, was imported bodily into Ireland centuries ago. Every one knows how it has flourished there.

In short, it would seem that institutions which are made for a people, and do not grow out of the natural progress of the people, must needs assume a bureaucratic form. And this will be more especially the case when the institutions are made for a dependency in an inferior stage of civilisation, by a governing nation in a higher one. Nothing could hinder the English Government in India from being bureaucratic; the abolition of peasant proprietary certainly would not, any more than the maintenance of that institution would make the Government more bureaucratic than it is.

As we have already suggested, the history of the cases in which peasant proprietary is associated with bureaucracy, as well as the cases in which it is not, both alike go to prove that the connexion, where it exists, is not a relation of cause and effect. But there is another aspect of the political tendency of peasant proprietary, in which it has been the subject of much hostile criticism. It is said that even where it is not associated with despotic and bureaucratic Governments (and of course still more where it is), it tends to produce an equality of

wealth and social condition, which results in a level uniformity of character destructive of individual originality and energy.

If this be so, it is a serious drawback to the advantages of the distribution of wealth. But national characters are not caused by tenures of land alone, but by many other concurring causes. The tenure of land is itself but one of many conditions which together go to make up the general economic state of a community. It seems probable that where there are many resources of industry, and more especially where foreign and maritime trade is extensive, there will be a greater development of energy than where the community is wholly dependent upon the soil. It would carry us too far into the region of history to investigate the concomitant conditions of energy and originality as displayed in literature, in art, in science, in commerce, and in the arts of life generally, by the nations which have attained the highest eminence in these particulars. But this much may be said, that they have always been either commercial or military communities, and very often both. Now, the conditions that make commercial and military communities are many, and they may or may not co-exist with peasant proprietary, but there is nothing in peasant proprietary incompatible with them. A favourable maritime situation, the possession of good harbours or great navigable rivers, and other conditions of similar nature, are those which seem most likely to develop a commercial community. In these conditions there is nothing that bears upon landed-tenure in any way. So military genius is for the most part fostered by physical conditions of race. Mountain-tribes are apt to be more vigorous than the inhabitants of plains; and when brought into contact with the latter, they are tempted to assume a hostile attitude, and to develop into warriors. But mountaineers, in so far as they are agriculturists, are nearly always peasant proprietors, or something very like it. These illustrations are merely intended to suggest the method of the enquiry: it would be impossible to discuss in any detail the physical and social antecedents of national character.

Briefly, the influence of peasant proprietary may be said to narrow the national character, when it tends to tie down industry to the sole occupation of tilling the soil. But in order that it may have this tendency, the obstacles in the way of engaging in any other industry must be considerable, and communication with other countries must be difficult. And if these things be the case, it seems likely that a stunted and feeble type of

character would exist in any circumstances, and, under any tenure of land.

Peasant proprietorship may, then, it seems, be acquitted of the two political faults commonly brought against it,—antagonism to national freedom, and to national and individual greatness. In truth, the conditions of both these things are as yet but little known. Freedom and greatness have hitherto been plants of apparently accidental growth ; and it is easier, in our present state of knowledge, to determine the conditions of material, than of moral, well-being.

ART V—PARASNATH AS A CIVIL SANATARIUM.

Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXVIII. Papers relating to a Sanatorium upon Mount Parasnath. 1861.

PEOPLE have long been indulging in India in the dream that, after a certain number of years, the European got acclimatised, and could bear the effects of the damp and heat. Sad medical experience has, however, dispelled this pleasing delusion, and the foreigner must be now content to battle with the climate, taking whatever alleviations there may be, and especially by occasional visits to hill-stations, which are to India what the sea-side or the Rhine is to the London cockney. What is the Calcutta ditcher to provide as a substitute for the Saturday trip to the sea-coast? Nyni Tal, Simla, and the Nilgiris, answer admirably when a person can spare a month at least; so will Darjiling *when* the rail shall be made to it: but men of business, or those having limited incomes, or with fixed duties in the plains, cannot avail themselves of places like Darjiling, excellent as they are. They have neither time nor money for a lengthened stay, and a short one is tugging and dear. The Rajmahal Hills are deadly after March, and are too low. Parasnath is the refuge the *only* place accessible to Calcutta and the tracts bordering the East Indian Railway line as far as Monghyr, at a small expenditure of time and money. It is then for many either Parasnath or the Bengal vapor-bath.

London, which is the heart of the commercial world, and where every minute of business is counted, where the hours are golden, yet has those occasional holidays at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, when the over-worked statesman, merchant, or philanthropist, for a few days throw off the trammels of occupation, and seek rest and relaxation, or more extended holidays, when in the long vacation they go to one of those watering-places which stud the English Coast, or visit the Boulevards of Paris or Vienna, steam up the Rhine or down the Danube. London has its season as Paris and all great cities have. If these European cities with congenial climates have their season, of how much greater importance is it that the hard-worked European living in Lower Bengal, in a climate in the rains, a medium between a Russian vapor-bath and the swamps of Cayenne, should have his period of relaxation and rest. Calcutta, in future, with its September and October miasma must have a pause, if it wishes to work effectively, the other ten months of the year. The heads of office surely might go in

those months to the hills, not only for sanitary reasons, but because work can be done more efficiently in a cooler climate than "in the most frightful combination of heat, stagnant moisture, and dirt on the face of the earth." The railway with its tourist-ticket or the coasting-steamer afford facilities to the hills; but where is the man or his family to go to, who feel seedy, nervous, depressed, and just need *occasionally a few days' relaxation* within reach of a day's post of Calcutta or its neighbourhood?

Nine hours by rail take the citizen of Madras to the lovely scenery of the Shivaroy Hills. He can leave Madras by the evening train, and breakfast on the refreshing breezy summit of the Shivaroyas. The same time will bring him to the healthful plateau of Bangalore. Bombay has sanatoria: *Puna* within nine hours rail; *Mahabalshar*, 2½ hours distant; *Matheran*, only 7 hours, 2,000 feet high, less than half the height of Parasnath; *Singarh*, 11 hours from Bombay, and *Purandar*, 12 hours. The Punjab and North-West Provinces are well supplied with sanatoria within 12 hours' travelling distance of stations.

Now Parasnath, in a limited way, can supply this want to the party in quest of a week or two of change. Go two days, before starting, to Greenway's Inland Transit Company, 4, Hare Street, and engage a dāk-ghari to meet you on arriving at the Barrakul. Below are the terms.* Leaving

* INLAND TRANSIT COMPANY.

FROM THE BARRAKUL	Distance.	Upward Dāk	Upward and Downward Dāks.	Probable time in Transit.	REMARKS.
	Miles.	Rs	Rs	Hours.	
To the foot of the Parasnath Hills, or Dumri Dāk Bungalow*	56	40	60	12	Dāk Bungalow.
" the Buggodur Dāk Bungalow	70	45	70	15	Ditto.
" the Burhi Dāk Bungalow*	100	45	80	20	Ditto.
" Hazaribagh*	124	60	100	25	Ditto.
" Sherghotty†	142	80	130	36	Ditto.
" Gya, red Dobay†	156	85	140	40	Ditto.
" Gya, mā Sherghotty	164	90	150	44	Ditto.

* Munshi Stations.

† Carriages horsed to Burhi, thence propelled by men to Sherghotty and Gya.

Calcutta by the 11 A. M. mail-train, you reach the Barrakur about 6 P. M., get into the dāk-ghari, and you arrive at Parasnath the following morning by 6. The ascent is completed by 8 o'clock. Should you travel with two others, and take a return-ticket by tāk-ghari, the whole journey from Parasnath to Calcutta will cost each Rs 25, and *vice versa*, while the dāk-travelling is through a beautiful country, the Switzerland of Bengal. When the Rangunij route on the opening of the Chord Line becomes the main one, the rail journey of 143 miles may be performed in 5 hours by express; and as in the Punjab one can travel on a mail-cart 9 miles an hour for less than 2 annas a mile, the journey from the Barrakur to the foot of Parasnath (58 miles) can be made at this rate even now in 7 hours, and the whole from Calcutta in 12 hours for Rs. 13, provided the public take this question up. Surely Bengal, our oldest acquisition, ought to have cheap travelling as well the Punjab so recently acquired Darjiling, until the rail is made some seven years hence, involves a three days' journey at a cost, at the least, of Rs. 120, and in the rains rather dangerous from malaria.*

The above charges are for an *entire* carriage, conveying four passengers with 2 maunds or 160 lbs. of luggage, whether one, two, three, or four persons occupy the carriage.

Passengers to pay toll at the Barrakur, as well as hire of coolies, if required.

BULLOCK-TRAIN.

Goods, packages, luggage, mess-stores, &c., despatched on the 1st and 15th of every month, by bullock-train, to Hazaribagh.

W GREENWAY,
Proprietor, I. T. Company.

* The Chord Line, which it is expected will be completed by January 1870, will, with its branch to Kurhumbali, 210 miles from Calcutta, carry the traveller to Kurhumbali, *within 16 miles of Parasnath*. A good road is proposed from that for Hazaribagh passing Parasnath; and with horse-dāk the foot of the mountain may be reached in 10 hours from Calcutta.

The mineral resources of the districts west of the Barrakur are so great and so undeveloped that they may require ere long a light railway towards Parasnath. Dr. Oldham in his report to the Secretary of State, 1868, states, on this subject:—"There is a very large and important field of coal to the west of the Barrakur, extending beyond the village of Gopalgunj on the Trunk Road, or about ten miles from the banks of the Barrakur, at or near Taldangah. This field will, when once opened up, demand railroad accommodation. It is at the same time most likely that questions of further and more distant extension of the railroad will come under consideration."

Parasnath, the subject of this paper, is the highest of the range of hills separating Lower Bengal from Behar, through which the Grand Trunk Road runs. The mass of the hill overhangs the Grand Trunk Road from the 189th to the 198th mile-stone from Calcutta. It stands off from the range on its south-eastern face, thus overlooking the plains between the valleys of the Damuda and Barakur Rivers. Its summit is 4,624 feet above the sea.

We shall now give the chief circumstances which led to this mountain being known. It was unvisited for ages, except by Jain travellers, who went on pilgrimage to the place. Colonel Franklin, a learned antiquarian, visited Parasnath in 1819, and has published an account of his journey. He made the ascent by the pilgrim route, to Madhuban, whose temples he thus describes in his work on the Jains:—"They consist of large square brick-buildings with a dome in the centre and smaller domes at the corners, which are surmounted by cullises of copper gilt, which shine like burnished gold; in front of each temple is a nabutkhana or gallery for music. From sun-rise to sun-set you hear nothing but the incessant din of their music. The ascent to the mountain commences by a narrow steep path surrounded by the thickest forest. As you ascend, the summit of the mountain presents a stupendous appearance; at intervals you perceive the summit of Parasnath appearing in bluff jagged peaks, eight in number, and towering to the clouds. From an opening in the forest the view is inexpressibly grand, the wide extent of the Jungle Terry appearing as if beneath your feet, and looking like the surface of a pictured landscape; the summit, emphatically termed by the Jains *Āsmeed Sikur*, or the peak of bliss, composes a table-land, flanked by twenty small Jain temples, situate on the craggy peaks and in different parts of the mountain."

The next visitor was A. P., an official of Government, who went to what he calls this princely mountain in November 1827. He wrote:—

"All dāk-travellers who have journeyed along the new Military Road to *Benares*, must be familiar with the name of this mountain; for they can scarcely have neglected to enquire the title of that remarkable line of hills which haunts them like a shadow from *Bancora* to *Kutumsandy*. Coming into view at the former place, it grows in height and breadth until it appears frowning in front of the bungalow at *Chass*, at a distance of — *kups*. From this place, travelling westward, its numerous and craggy points slowly recede from view, until from the high ground at *Hazaribagh*,

it becomes a faint but picturesque outline, catching tints from the sky in front of the setting sun. From the telegraph on the top of *Tufri Ghaut* the mountain is seen in the most favourable manner; its broad base rises abruptly from the distant plain, and slopes gradually at the extreme sides, until the outline breaks into numerous peaks, that from the corner of the hill seem shooting their arrowy points at the heavens. From the plain to within a few yards of each pinnacle, and even in some of the pinnacles themselves, the mountain is thickly covered with magnificent trees, whose round heads take various tints from the changing seasons of the year, and even from the hourly variations of light between dawn and darkness. Seen from the above point of view, we can scarcely help respecting the eye and taste that first selected this noble pile as the imaginary residence of a deity.

"I approached *Parasnath* from the north, and its towering heads, like the eye of a watchful monarch, overlooked my winding route from the time I entered the province of *Kurreekdeea*, from the little pergunnah of *Kodurma*, or, as it is called by Rennel, *Korumma*, which joins its north-western corner. The road from the village of *Kurreekdeea* to *Pulgunjo*, where the holy lands commence, affords a constant variety of ascent and descent, passing through as wild a country, perhaps, as the Continent of *India* contains."

Captain Beadle, when Executive Engineer on the Grand Trunk Road, visited *Parasnath* in 1846, and took various sketches, which the Government have published in their valuable work, "*Parasnath as a Sanatorium*." He states regarding it.—

"Urged by Sir John Cheape, I sent a description of the trip to the *Hurkuru Press*, where it was published.

"The great drawback at that time to effecting a lodgment on the mountain was the *Pachete Rajah*, and had reference to the religious character of the hill-top, which at every eminence is crowned with a little temple.

"The *Rajah* has forfeited his estates, and the obstacle is in a measure removed; but the Jain monastery at *Modoobundh*, and the temples, &c., have still to be considered.

"No one lives on the mountain. When the thermometer was standing at 94° in the bungalow at the foot, it was not higher than 81° on the hill-top; the mercury was at 79° when I reached the summit at midnight on the 15th May 1846, and at 5 A. M. on the 16th it had fallen to 68°; on the 17th May the mercury stood at 67° in the early morning.

"The rock is *syenite* and good for rubble building purposes. I saw no vermin nor reptiles on the summit; there is fine *sāl* timber in the lower portions of the mountain. I am sure that the climate will be found very beneficial to sick men during the hot weather. In May 1846 I found the transition from the plains to the hill-top a delicious one.

"There is ample room for barracks to contain a 100 men, and there is sufficient water of an excellent pure kind."

Sir Joseph Hooker, who was sent by Government on a botanical mission to India, where he spent three years, visited *Parasnath* in 1848. He describes it, as seen from *Gya*, "appearing against the grey cold sky in the form of a beautiful broad cone, with a rugged peak, of a deeper grey than the sky.

It is a remarkably handsome mountain, sufficiently lofty to be imposing, rising out of an elevated country, the slope of which upward to the base of the mountain, though imperceptible, is really considerable, and it is surrounded by lesser hills of just sufficient elevation to set it off."

Dr Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, examining in 1862 the Damuda Valley and the Birbhum iron ore-producing districts, notices Parasnath thus:—"Doubling round the base of Parasnath Hill on the west side, we ascended to the summit from Muddubund, and were immensely delighted with the glorious scenery of the mountain itself and the striking contrast which it afforded, after having been for weeks among the almost unbroken plains of Bengal. The wonderful beauty and richness of its thickly wooded sides, broken up by the cool grey of the projecting rocks, whose precipitous cliffs cast their deep shadows around, with the almost boundless view from its summit, stretching away over the lullowy tides to the west and north-west, and the unbroken plains to the east, the clearness of the atmosphere above, while all below is shrouded in a hazy mist called up by the overheated air of the plains: all combined to render it a scene of amazing beauty, and to impress one forcibly with the idea of the desirability of such a resort being made accessible to Europeans as a relief from the destructive glare and broiling heats of Calcutta. From Parasnath we passed northward; through a country composed entirely of gneissose rocks, with intercalated beds of hornblende slates, and hornblende rocks, with occasional granite,* and thick quartzose veins, and trap dykes, to Curhurbaree coal-field."

Major Maxwell, Officiating Superintending Engineer, was sent to examine Parasnath in 1858. He reports:—

"When the East Indian Railway is completed to the Barakur River, 24 hours will amply suffice to convey the invalid or the visitor to Parasnath, or, if necessary, to carry him back to business or to the English steamer at Calcutta, indeed, by an active person and with suitable railway arrangements, and perhaps eventually a mail-coach from the Barakur to Madhoopoor or Topchancee, it could be then done in 12 hours, the rail-trip occupying 5, and the rest of the journey 7 hours.

"In the matter of supplies, any amount of luxuries could, of course, be conveyed to the sanatarium without difficulty as soon as the road up the hill is made.

"During the present year two officers of Her Majesty's 99th Regiment spent a considerable time there, *viz.*, from 1st April till 8th June. One of these, to whom I applied, Lieutenant Clayton, has kindly written to me as follows —

"I and a brother officer lived on the top of the hill from about the 1st of April till the 8th of June, during which time we found the climate beautifully cool and pleasant.

"The top of the hill abounds, with wood, there is also a spring of good water, the soil is of a black, light, loamy nature, and, I should imagine, well adapted to gardening purposes. My companion and myself enjoyed capital health the whole time we were there, with the exception of a fever that my friend caught by imprudently sleeping out in the jungle at night.

"There is no lack of animal life on the hill. Birds abound, and afforded the two officers mentioned very fair sport during their stay. Tigers are found in this jungle occasionally, but these would disappear before the sound of the axe and the pursuits of civilization. The jungle also, which has been alluded to as likely to be unhealthy, would no doubt rapidly diminish, as it was required for building, burning, &c."

He visited it again in 1859, and states:—

"Within the past few years I have seen something of hill-stations and then wants for the residence of Europeans, and I feel convinced that Parasnath has only to become known to us to be a suitable, delightful, and healthy spot to retire to. The ranges of hills adjoining and extending to the north-west of Parasnath would admit of roads being made round them, joining the station once at very trifling outlay, and afford means for exercise and pleasure; in fact, I think that many miles of level road could be constructed round and about Parasnath, and here I would refer to its easy approach from Calcutta."

Dr Thompson, and W Atkinson, Esq, Secretary to the Asiatic Society, visited it in April 1855, and in 1856 the former states:—

"I know few hills of its size which surpass it in natural beauty, though from its isolation the views from the summit are deficient in the grandeur which characterizes mountain-scenery.

"The air on the hill is always delightful, fresh, elastic, and exhilarating, and offers the greatest contrast to the steamy heat of Calcutta. A small station there would afford a most grateful retreat from the town, and I sincerely hope the scheme of a sanatorium may be carried out.

"Dr Anderson and I agreed in opinion in November last, that a sanatorium on Parasnath would be of great value for individuals from the damp, relaxing climate of Bengal. The climate is dry and bracing, and the temperature always 10 or 12 degrees lower than in Calcutta.

"The elevated part of the ridge, safe above fever heat, that is, above 4,000 feet, is about two miles long, but it is not in all parts eligible for building sites. There is, however, ample room for barracks for 100 men, and for at least a dozen moderate-sized bungalows.

"Water will be the principal difficulty, but it is not more distant than at Mussooree or Simla in the dry weather; and with artificial tanks, water collected during the rains might be kept during the cold and dry weather."

Captain Young, Officiating Chief Engineer, visited it in October 1859, to select a few good sites for bungalows, and to fix upon an accessible road to the summit. He reports:—

"The ground is not of a very compact, rocky nature, so that it would be cleared and levelled without much difficulty. There is no want of soil upon it, which would be good for gardens and useful as a cement in building.

"The thermometer, which had been 84° at the Top Chaney bungalow at noon, stood this day at noon at 69°, a difference of 15°; but, though cool and pleasant, it was not decidedly or unpleasantly cold without a fire either in the day or night.

"It is, however, an opinion with some medical men, of whom I believe Dr. R. Martin is one, that it is not necessary or advantageous to locate Europeans at very great heights to ensure a beneficial result to their health, and in this opinion, I confess, I concur. There is more tendency to healthy exercise, undoubtedly at a moderate elevation and comparatively level ground, than on a chilly and precipitous hill-top.

"I saw no wild animals, or signs of any. The weather and the nature of the jungle at this season were not favourable certainly, but the natives express no fear on the subject; indeed, they say that there are very few, and that no instance of visitors to the temple being hurt or carried off is known."

Impressed by these favourable reports, the next step taken by Government was to arrange about securing land, which had been claimed by the Rani of Palgunj and some zemindars.

Major Maxwell and Captain Dawson were sent again to report in April 1860 by the order of the Lieutenant-Governor, who took a deep interest in the question.

Lieutenant-Colonel Young again reports to Government in 1860:—"The hill had been visited from time to time by many Europeans, being very favourably situated for this purpose, as the road runs immediately at its base. It is believed that European gentlemen have spent several days on the hill during every month of the year, and at no season has it been found to be feverish, or otherwise than perfectly healthy. In the month of June, in the day time, Major Maxwell found that the thermometer on the hill did not rise above 73°, and showed a minimum difference of 15° as compared with the heat in the plains below, where, owing to the rain, it was moderately cool for the season." In regard to water, and in other respects, his report was equally favourable.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal visited Parasnath in 1860, and thus records his opinion:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor, during his tour in January of this year, in company with the Officiating Chief Engineer, the Superintending Engineer, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, and other officers, ascended the hill, pitched tents on level ground at the top, and remained there two days, during which the whole of the summit of the eastern part of the hill and the neighbouring slopes were inspected.

"The Lieutenant-Governor was struck with the number and excellence of the building sites on this part of the hill, which exceeded what he had been led to expect. The water is excellent, but it is believed not to be enough for more than sixty or eighty men. The beauty of the place, and the purity of the air, were remarkable; and he was fully as favourably impressed by the capabilities of that part of the hill for the location of a small sana-

tarium as the officers of the Department of Public Works who had examined it.

"There is no doubt that sufficient space exists on the eastern division of the hill for barracks for a few hundred men and for several pleasant bungalows. But there seems not to be enough water on this part of the hill for any large number of men.

"The general elevation of the building ground is four thousand feet, about equal to that of Sobathoo (4,200) and of Cherra Poonjee (4,120), and not very far below that of Mount Aboo (4,500). The highest peak on this division of the hill (marked Observatory on the Plan) is 4,312 feet, or 3-2 feet below the highest peak of the entire hill. The temperature by thermometer, under an open thatched shed, gave an average maximum during the last week of April of 68°. The season being one of the hottest that has been known for many years, the thermometer rose to as high as 107° in the plains below, showing a difference in the heat of the day of twenty-one degrees. While the heat was so extreme down below, Major Maxwell says that he and those with him had merely a grass temporary thatch over their heads, open on all sides, and he describes the air as refreshing and pleasant. He says that punkahs would never be required, and that during his stay the nights were very cool, even somewhat cold towards morning.

"The temperature of Parasnath seems, as might have been expected from the latitude and elevation of the two places, to be about the same as that of Cherra Poonjee; but Parasnath has the advantage of only a moderate rain-fall.

"The Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied from these reports that advantage should be taken of Parasnath for the purposes of a small sanatarium. The top will be no more than fifty-four miles from the railway terminus on the Bariakur. Thus, convalescents from Fort William, Barrackpore, Dum-Dum, Chinsurah, and Ranegunge, can easily be sent thither. The distance from Dehree is 138 miles. This sanatarium will be much appreciated by the European public of Calcutta; and the fact of its being actually upon the chief line of internal communication in all India gives it a peculiar value.

"In a letter, No. 2243, of the 7th instant, a copy of which is forwarded, the Lieutenant-Governor directed the preliminary operations, which have commenced as before described, to be prosecuted; and he has therefore instructed the Chief Engineer to complete and perfect the road to the top in the first place, and to mark out more exactly the several building sites which have been indicated, furnishing a more correct and more detailed plan of the whole ground as soon as possible.

"The building sites are too limited in extent and number to make it advisable to sell them to private parties. To afford the greatest possible advantage to Civil and Military officers, and to private gentlemen and families requiring a short relaxation in a cool climate, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that a few bungalows should be built, and rented on fair terms, or allowed to be built by private persons on special conditions."

In October 1860 the measure of a sanatarium received the sanction of the Governor-General. As the result, an excellent road has been made from 6 to 10 feet wide to the top 6 miles; barracks to accommodate 32 men were subsequently erected, besides barracks for three officers and their families; houses for

natives, store-houses, walks, were made, extending five or six miles in various directions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Beadle, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Public Works Department, officially reports of his visit in September 1861 —

"This road (the newly made road from the foot to the summit) is 6 miles and 2,000 feet in length, of which two and a half miles have been made ten feet wide, and the remainder six feet wide. The ascent is easy, the greatest incline being $8\frac{1}{2}$ in 100 feet, which is two and a half feet less than some parts of the Danwah Pass on the Grand Trunk Road.

"The Secretary of State has remarked that Parasnath, though of limited extent, appeared in other respects to be suited for a sanatorium, and that any remaining doubt on the subject would be cleared up if a few thatched tents were erected and occupied during the hot season; and that in the meanwhile no permanent buildings should be commenced. The experimental measure has now been fairly and fully carried out. The Lieutenant-Governor resolved to try the climate himself; and tents having been pitched for his accommodation, he left Calcutta on the 17th of April, and remained on the top of the hill till the 20th May, when a fire accidentally breaking out destroyed the three tents which had been thatched, and compelled him return to the Presidency. About the 31st of May the Lieutenant-Governor returned to Parasnath, where he lived in unthatched tents, transacting business, till about the end of June; the rainy season having, for some weeks, previously set in, and very heavily.

"The results of these visits have convinced the Lieutenant-Governor that, so far as climate is concerned, no further knowledge of it can be gained, or is required. He found the air pure and bracing, whilst no sickness showed itself in his camp, or in that of Lieutenant Steel, the Engineer Officer in charge of the works, who has lived on the hill from the end of September, last year.

"The pleasant nature of the climate, and the salubrity of Parasnath, having been placed beyond a doubt, and the comparative register of the temperature on Parasnath and at Ranigunj, which has been carefully kept, proving that the temperature averages, in the afternoon, during the seven hot months of the year, 16 degrees lower than in the plains at the foot, the Lieutenant-Governor strongly urges that orders may now be issued for proceeding with the work, which was commenced and has been stopped.

"The Agent of the East Indian Railway Company having applied for a site for a barrack, the Lieutenant-Governor has set apart a convenient portion of the ground for their occupation. An hospital for the convalescent workmen and officers of the Company will accordingly be constructed at Parasnath."

Estimates were prepared in 1861, the buildings were commenced in 1862, and Parasnath was taken up by the military authorities, not to the exclusion of, but as an addition to, Darjiling, for delicate convalescents from Calcutta, Barrackpore, Berhampore, Dum-Dum, Dinapore, to enable them to hold their ground for a time, so that men suffering from malarious fever might thus be kept out of the trying heat of the plains.

In 1864 invalids were sent; nearly all were reduced by disease, but they soon improved in appearance and increased in weight.

The Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Dinapore Circle, visited Parasnath in May 1865, and expressed an opinion favourable to it as a sanatorium.

In 1865, 29 men of the 54th Regiment were sent to Parasnath, and remained there from April to November; it was found favourable to them, as it was to 32 men sent up in 1866, who were suffering from uncomplicated fever, from a low state of health, or from rheumatism.

In June 1866 the Officiating Principal Inspector-General of the Medical Department reported favourably regarding the results of this experiment of having within easy reach of Calcutta a place of resort for delicate men and convalescents, or for those suffering from malarious fever, in which they are kept out of the heat of the plains. Many men suffered this year from the buildings being leaky, but they were thoroughly repaired the next year.

In 1867 the buildings having been repaired, the report was more favourable to sending men there who suffered from general debility, whether or not the result of fever; those being most distinctly improved by residence on the hill during the hot season. The report in September stated nearly all the men improved both in weight and appearance, the absence of hot winds, hot air, and insects having had a favourable influence on them.

But in 1868, Parasnath was given up as a *Military* sanatorium, on the grounds that there was not a sufficient water supply for more than 60 to 80 men, and that the space was too confined to allow invalids all the exercise they wanted, and especially in the rains (there are six miles of road however)—it was too quiet, too like a penitentiary for men, who wanted a little excitement. The medical returns were unfavourable to it, except for patients only slightly ill or free from organic disease or who are suffering from debility, whether the result of fever or not; but above all the expense would be very great to give permanency to the arrangements, and provide a hospital with its Staff,—a surgery, dispensary, &c., while Darjiling was more economical for a small number of men.

In January 1868 the Military Department made over the buildings on Parasnath to the Public Works Department, consisting of the following, erected in 1865 by Major Baird, all pukka, both walls and floor, with corrugated sheet iron roofs.

				LENGTH	BREADTH
				<i>Fet.</i>	<i>Fet.</i>
Officers' Bungalows	...	...	...	108	48
Cook-room, 9 servants' range	...	...	...	60	20½
Commanding Officer's Cook-house	...	...	...	23½	15½
Barracks for 32 men	...	...	...	126	4½
Cook-room for do.	...	...	...	27	21
Privy	...	...	...	20	12
Commissariat Godown	...	...	...	18	13
Bakers' do.	...	...	...	23	23

These buildings cost over Rs 80,000, and the sale of them would fetch little, as the proprietor would have in addition to maintain the roads.

The question now before Government is what to do with the buildings and the sanatorium. Government has spent more than a lakh of rupees on the place; has made pretty and healthy walks, fine barracks with their corrugated iron roofs, a good spring accessible to the station—is all this to go to ruin? Is Parasnath again to become the tiger and leopard's lair, deserted by every human being, except the Jains, in January, February, and March? Are Calcutta and the places along the East India Railway as far as Patna to lose the *only* place they can visit cheaply and easily for a few days at time?*

The time is not yet come for a regular hotel, but were the

* Parasnath has lately been the scene of some litigation with respect to the claims on one side of the Rajah of Palgunj and on the other of a Jain merchant of Murshidabad to the offerings of the pilgrims.

But a question more interesting to the public is the claim set forward by the Jains to the *whole* of the hill on the ground of a sunnud given by the Emperor Akbar granting them the mountain—"Let no one kill an animal below, or about the mountains and the places of worship and pilgrimage." This sunnud states they are also to have all of the Mounts Girnar and Abu in Guzerat, and concludes with—"May this firman shine like the sun and moon amongst the followers of the Jain Sitambar religion, as long as the sun may shine in the day with his resplendent rays, and the moon make the night delightful by the light."

Unmoved by this flowery language, the Government has rejected their petition on the ground of the sunnud not being genuine, as well as that the protection of the life of *animals* is not to be carried to an extent which will endanger the safety of human beings, as by granting the petition Parasnath would become like Gau a fastness for the tiger and leopard. Exclude the shikari and sportsman, and the whole country suffers. The Jains are rich, and can enclose their own ground, which is near two miles away from the barracks; the barracks were built on ground reclaimed from jungle and rescued from the tiger. The sanatorium is on the western spur of the hill, while the Jain buildings are on the eastern; the pilgrims are not therefore interfered with.

buildings made over rent-free to some private party to make a beginning, it would be a great boon. The buildings might be kept up on the plan of the staging bungalows, which were once so comfortable and so popular, that the Government maintained 100 of these on the Grand Trunk Road but nearly all have been given up since the railroad has opened. Is it asking too much, then, of the authorities to let out or to maintain a large dâk-bungalow on Parasnath, the charges and sanctioned periods of occupation being somewhat greater and longer than in the old ones?

We believe the latter proposition would meet the sanction of the local authorities, and we trust the Government of Bengal may approve of a measure which would be so much *pro bono publico*, and would cost so little.

Private individuals have not means for this, and Joint Stock Companies at the present time are at a discount: let the Government make the start. Since the establishment of Parasnath, applications were made some years ago by parties in Calcutta for building sites, but the military then required the ground. Now there is an opening not only for Europeans, but for native gentlemen, who would do well to secure a site there as a retreat in hot weather. One party has applied to be allowed to take over the Government buildings on the hill rent-free for three years to be kept open by him as a hotel for the accommodation of officers, military and civil, or of other visitors to the hill, on whatever condition the Government may affix to the transfer.

Meanwhile, what is to be done in the approaching holidays? There are the buildings, but no furniture, no servants, except a man in charge, though coolies can be procured in abundance, as can supplies of fowl, rice, flour, salt, potatoes, milk, eggs. Permission to occupy the buildings must be first obtained by application to Mr. Manners, Executive Engineer at Bagode. That obtained, and the dâk-ghari secured, the visitors to Parasnath must take the following articles with them, which can easily be stowed on a dâk-ghari:—biscuit, flour to make chappatis, preserved meats, tea, coffee, sugar, candles, a camp-table and bed, a ship chair, knives and forks, spoons, cups and saucers, kettle, tea-pot, candles, soap, bath-room and bed-room necessities. Charpoys can be had at Nimya Ghaut.

But the question that naturally arises with some persons is—where is Parasnath?—what is it?—does it answer the purpose of a sub-sanatorium in being accessible easily and at a cheap rate?—does it afford accommodation, and are there any objects of interest to amuse the visitor?

We shall endeavour to answer these questions, and first as to the route. It lies by rail to Ranigunj. For the interesting places passed between Calcutta and Ranigunj, we refer to *Newman's Tourist's Guide to the Principal Stations of the East India Railway*, which contains a good map, and costs only 1 rupee eight annas. From Ranigunj,* 122 miles from Calcutta, to the Barrakur Station, is a distance of 22 miles traversed by the rail, which has opened out various coal-mines hitherto excluded from the benefit of cheap carriage, and which yield annually more than 4,500,000 maunds of coal. It is the black country, the centre of the coal-mines, where chimneys and piles of coal are to be seen in every direction; the shafts are sunk through alluvium. As a relief to this dark prospect, the hills at Pachete and Baharinath tower aloft some 20 miles off. The *Nunia Suspension Bridge* is on the right near Assensole. We pass at *Sitarampur*, 136 miles from Calcutta, the place where the main Chord Line branches off, opening out a most romantic country, rich in mineral wealth and picturesque scenery, hitherto as little accessible to Europeans as Timbuctoo, though for ages traversed by pilgrims from the north-west to Jagannath, as well as by pack-mules conveying mica and iron. We arrive at the *Barrakur Station* 144 miles from Calcutta. From the platform Parasnath is seen looming only 48 miles distant, rising with his giant form and conical peak, a contrast to the surrounding hills, the Snai of the Jains.

* Ranigunj is rendered famous by the sketches given in *Dickens' Household Words* of Mr Slasher, the late Henry Biddle, who did much to develop the resources of the Ranigunj District.

Dr Oldham gives an approximate return of the coal from the Ranigunj mines in 1859.

GENERAL ABSTRACT

				Maund.
Mines in work	37	I	Mines near Ranigunj	44,50,000
" in progress	9	II	" on Singarran	22,39,000
		III	" on Nunia E Branch	3,30,000
Total	46	IV	" on " Main Stream	6,20,000
		V	" on " W Branch	3,70,000
		VI	" near junction of Damud and Barrakur	6,50,000
		VII	Other Mines	4,20,000
			GRAND TOTAL	90,79,000

The dâk-ghari takes you from the station, you pass some very curious old temples, probably Jain originally, and come after half a mile's drive to the Barrakur, a river which rises in the Hazaribagh Hills, flows ten miles to the north of Parasnath, and joins the Damuda a few miles south of this place. It is shallow, except when swollen by the rains into a hill torrent. There is a good ferry, however, under the management of an European Serjeant, a toll is paid for crossing. Close to you is the splendid new bridge,* which ought to be completed in a year, and beyond is Pachete rising 1,900 feet high. By a gentle ascent we reach the top of the hill. On the left, two miles distant from the railway station, is the comfortable dâk-bungalow of Taldanga, where the traveller may stop for the night or rest for a couple of hours and dine, to the west lies an iron and coal-field; the views are fine, and one feels he has left swampy Bengal. The air blows fresh and invigorating, no more swamps; quartz, rocks, and hills, present themselves to the sight, and the roads are mended with kankar, a nodular deposit of limestone. Crossing the Bariakur, we are in Behar.

The romantic region of the hills begins—the *Switzerland* of Lower Bengal, the future scene of mineral and metallic enterprise, as Sherwill's and Oldham's reports show. These hills, once the seats of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, with their contemplative residents and chaunting priests, are destined yet to be the abodes of a hustling, mining population, to be the Cornwall of Bengal, when the name *Kaila Desh*, or coal country, will be much more applicable than its present one of Behar, i. e. the land of monasteries. These hills continue for 140 miles to the foot of the Dhunwa pass, a land of hill and dale, wood and water, abounding in scenery, interesting to the geologist and lover of the picturesque; the climate also changes, the nights become cool and clear. To the sportsman it is not devoid of interest, as the district of Pachete swarms with tigers and bears, the destruction of which would be a real act of kindness to the defenceless natives. *Pulamou*, *Sirgya*, *Chota Nagpore*, and *Pachete*, afford various subjects

* It was begun in 1854-55; had cost, up to October last, about 11½ lakhs of rupees, and is expected to cost about 2½ more. It will consist of nine girder spans of 155 feet each with seven land arches of 75 feet. Six of the piers will be in the bed of the river, and sunk, some of them, 40 feet in the sand. The work has been delayed by the destruction of the foundation of two piers by a flood which struck them when half sunk. They have been extracted, and the work is in a fair way to completion.

of interest to the tourist in their aboriginal connection with tribes, the Coles and Dangais, their primeval forests and rude border chieftains, who, like the Lords of the Rhine, or the Rob Roys of Scotland, exercised their predatory habits on all defenceless persons who came within their reach, and we trust the knowledge of their condition, which will be called out by travelling, will also elicit the sympathies of the Christian philanthropist. The coal-mines and railways, by giving employment, will have a civilizing effect on the people, and will give an impulse to education.

We enter now on a new state of things. Instead of the clever and cunning Bengali, we meet with simpler and more independent races. The language of Bengal gives way to the Hindi and Urdu, the manners of the people are more manly and frank, the soil alters, the alluvium of Bengal being no more found. Twelve centuries ago this country was Buddhist, and Jain monarchs ruled; the language, Magadhi or Pali, a daughter of the Sanskrit, now the sacred language of Ceylon and Burmah, was then used here. On this interesting subject much information may be gleaned from *Fa Hien's Travels* in Bengal, in the fourth century, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. See also the *Calcutta Review*, No. VIII., *Indian Buddhism*. The present state of Behar is as different from the past as is that of Judæa now from what it was in the days of Solomon. Behar, once the Athens of India, is a place of ruins;—crumbling temples, cave temples and remains of granite columns, towers, palaces, cities, are found in districts now quite wild and depopulated. Bengal, which in Mogul days was a Botany Bay, the land of fish-eaters, now enters on the ascendant, with its city of palaces and hovels. *Gya*, *Rajgriha*, and *Behar*, are only names and shadows of the past. Behar, which once sent Buddhism from its bosom to Central Asia, supplied Gautama as a law-giver to Ceylon and Burmah, and became the cradle of Chinese Buddhism, is now “in the sere and yellow leaf;” but we trust railroads will open out such a country to the sympathies of Christian minds. now all is darkness; it sends opium to poison the Chinese.

The hills, after leaving Takdanga, assume a wavy appearance. Conceive one of the immense rollers at the Cape suddenly frozen; it would give an idea of this undulation of the ground. The soil is gravelly, and only low jungle is to be seen; while to the west, conical isolated hills rise to the height of a thousand feet—a welcome sight to him who has been “long in populous

cities pent." Along with this the atmosphere becomes more bracing and cool, and free from the Calcutta damp.

The soil is poor, but it contains within its bosom the germs of great improvement for this neglected country; the mineral resources will draw European settlers here, increase trade, schools will rise, and, we trust, the hopes of Christianity will follow in their train, and that missionaries will take one hint from the example of the Buddhist propagandists in this country—act more on the agricultural population, and adopt an extensive course of itinerant preaching.

A few miles beyond Taldanga, we leave the sand-stone, in which coal lies, and come to a district of primary rocks; the roads are mended with quartz. The country still rises, and hills appear more numerous, until we reach *Bagsama*. The junction of the sand-stone and gneiss rock, forming the elevated table-land of Upper Bengal, is passed over. The jungle here is composed chiefly of thorny bushes of *Zizyphus*, the twigs of the *butea frondosa* are covered with "lurid red tears of lac," which is collected here in abundance from this plant. The coal crops out here at the surface, and many fine fossils, have been obtained. According to Everest (*Gleanings of Science*, 1831, p. 133), the eminences here were once like Europe, islands of primitive rocks, rising in the middle of a large ocean, the *débris* is from beds of humus, out of which vegetables grew and formed the present soil. As in all coal-districts, the soil is barren.

Bagsama is right in the centre of the Tiger District, and is situated in *Pachete*,* a *terra incognita*, having a curious class of aborigines, fond of eating rats. Dr. Hooker's *Journals* give an interesting view of the botany and geology of this district.

Govindpur is the residence of a Deputy Magistrate, a *dâk-bungalow* is needed here; it is a central and populous place.

Fitkari, 170 miles from Calcutta, is 1,050 feet above the sea level. Nine miles to the south of it begins the *Jherria coal-field*, stretching over an area of 200 square miles. Five miles from *Fitkari*, at *Rajafuta*, a new road branches off to *Chota Nagpore*. Another road is made from *Rajafuta*, passing *Chakya*,

* For the construction of such a line, which for a large part of its course would pass through a very rich agricultural country, these coal-fields will be invaluable; while, should the coal on further examination prove of good quality, they will, after construction, afford economical means of working the traffic, being most favourably placed near the centre of a long distance, where it would be difficult to obtain fuel, and being thus able to meet demands from either side.

to connect the Chota Nagpore road with the Ganges at Surajghur

A little beyond this we enter the *Ramghur* District, wild and rocky, once noted for the border raids of its chieftains, at the head of whom was the Rajah of Chota Nagpore. The road here was dreaded as much by travellers as Black Heath was in the days of our forefathers; the zemindars levied their black mail, and, entrenched in their jungle fastnesses, bade defiance to the British troops. Dr. Buchanan states that the Cheros, an aboriginal tribe who lived in Ramghur and the Shahabad Hills, were "once lords paramount of the Gangetic Provinces" It would be interesting to examine the data for this statement. This district is rich in iron and coal

Topo Chancy bungalow, 1,128 feet above the sea level, lies at the foot of Parasnath. The scenery around is charming; in fact, we have seen few places to equal it in this respect, it is embosomed in an amphitheatre of beautifully wooded mountains. The traveller should endeavour to leave this place early in the morning, or three hours before sun-set, so as to have the pleasure of the views along the road, winding for ten miles round the base of *Parasnath*, "giant of mountains," which assumes new aspects of beauty and sublimity, according as the curves in the road alter the prospect; the howling of the wind in the evening down the gorges of Parasnath is very grand.

A two hours' drive from Top Chancy brings us to the place for the ascent, *Nimya Ghaut*, which is a second class choultry on the 198th mile-stone on the Grand Trunk Road. There is a village here, where coolies, Janpanis, and supplies, can be had, there are also two fine large overseers' bungalows; it is to be hoped, as has been proposed, that one of them will be made the dāk-bungalow instead of Top Chancy or Dumri.

Here, while taking some refreshment, you must arrange for coolies at two annas each to carry your luggage up, and Jamphan mon, whose charge for yourself is about two rupees. The road, ten feet wide, winds by a gradual and easy ascent of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the top through a sāl forest; the hills are well wooded, and in two hours you arrive at the barracks.* The first object one sees are these barracks situated on a spur which connects the two most northerly hills; they form an oblong building running north and south,

* In returning, have your dāk-ghari waiting for you at the foot of the hill; leave the top about 3 P. M.; start from Nimya Ghaut at 5 you will arrive at the Barrack Station about 5 A. M.; take the 5-30 morning train, you arrive at Calcutta about 2-30 P. M.

with covered verandahs at each side, ventilated by windows and doors opposite each other. The barracks are so constructed that the prevailing south-west wind blows through them from side to side; the buildings consist of one story, 94 feet long by 25 feet wide, intended to hold 32 men, giving them each 69 square feet of space and 1,290 cubic feet of air; the long room is divided by partitions into three compartments, and there are rooms at both ends. The other buildings on the hill have been described at page 118. We have stated before the accommodation in the privates' and the officers' barracks, the former could accommodate 32 men, the latter three families

Adieu for a time to punkahs, muggy air, mosquitoes, and bad smells; no hot winds, but a delicious morning and evening breeze, when you can wear cloth clothes even in the heat of summer

Now, as to *water* and *air jalbatas*, which is the Bengali definition of climate Dr Macnamara, Chemical Examiner to Government, reported in September 1860, that "the waters of Parasnath are all very pure, and admirably fitted for domestic use" The following is his analysis.—

In 20 Ounces	Solid Residue	Silica	Earthy Carbonates	Saline Matters	
Small Spring, No. 1 ...	Gr.				
1,600 feet from Observatory ..	1.0	1	3.5	.55	In all, the saline matters were the same, chiefly chlorides with a little alkaline carbonate.
Small Spring, No 2. ...					
1,700 feet from Observatory ...	1.05	.25	.55	.25	
Parasnath Temple Spring ...	1.0	.2	.4	.4	
Small Spring, two miles from Observatory on Road to Nimya Ghaut ..	1.1	.22	.38	.5	
Seetah Nullah, about 3,000 feet from site18	.4	..	An accident prevented the completion of this analysis.
Tokerah Nullah, half way on the Numya Ghaut Road ...	1.0	.16	.5	.34	

In 1867, Staff Surgeon Atkinson, in medical charge of Parasnath, reported "the water obtained from a spring 1,000 yards from the barracks to be very good and more than sufficient for the wants of the Detachment; various competent parties here reported favourably of the water."

As to the temperature, Dr. Hooker in his visit in 1858, judging from the vegetation on Parasnath, states :—"The mountain-top presents the mixture of the plants of a damp hot, a dry hot, and of a temperate climate in fairly balanced proportions. The elements of a tropical flora were, however, wholly wanting on Parasnath," while of the table-land of Birbhum and Behar, from Taldanga to Dunwa, 1,135 feet, he observes .—"It is evident that, compared with Calcutta, the dryness of the atmosphere is the most remarkable feature of the table-land, the temperature not being high."

Major Maxwell reported of the temperature; the difference in temperature (June) he found to be $88^{\circ}-73^{\circ}=15^{\circ}$. The different temperature has been ascertained frequently by other observers to be from 10 to 15 degrees, but those who have been there state, and of the fact all who have any hill experience are well aware, that the advantage and pleasurable feeling of the change from the plains below consists at least as much in the improved freshness and purity of the air as in its greater coolness by thermometer. Dr. Liebig's observation, taken in April, show 12° to 15° difference. Dr. Hooker, whose visit was made in February, found the difference to be that between 54° and 75° , or 21 degrees. Captain Beadle found it in May 1846, $94^{\circ}-81^{\circ}=13^{\circ}$ difference."

Now, as to *scenery*, the view from the summit is quite a panorama. On a fine clear day you have a range of 80 miles; to the north, along the Kurukpur Hills, a spur of the Vindhya, and to the south, by those of Hazaribagh, stretching out to the Cole and Chota Nagpore country, rich in interest both for nature and man;*

* Chota Nagpore is the scene of a most flourishing German mission commenced among the Dangars in 1843, supported from Berlin it has more than 10,000 baptized Christians. Branch missions have been established in Manbhum, in 1863, and at Ramghur, the missionaries of which occasionally itinerate as far as Kharakdeh. The following statement in their last report deserves serious notice :—

For many years a regular system of oppression has been carried on by the zemindars, who by very possible means try to drive the Colcs out of

to the north-west, the eye can range to the neighbourhood of Patna, the ancient Palibothra, to Behar and Gya, and trending round to the north east is Bhagulpur, 130 miles distant, while running from west to north is the Barrakur, which, after winding its way, joins the Damuda near the railway station of the Barrakur. The Adji River is in the distance, and near the Bariakur. North-east is Bubhum Zillah, so well drawn in the rural annals of Bengal; then Bishanpore, the seat of Rajahs for one hundred generations. South-east we see the silvery sandy thread of the Damuda, the sacred river of the Sonthals, winding its serpentine course from the Ramghur Hills along a line of coal-fields through Pachete down to Burdwan; its bed is snowy white from the exposed granite blocks with which its course is strewn.

The country seems a level, but the traveller would find it very different, it is up and down hill. Sometimes the path is very steep; the villages are populous; the towns of Palamow, Serampur, Curiakdya, Gaongun, and Palganj, have an average population in each of two or three thousand. Sonthals are numerous in parts. The jungles appear in the distance as black patches; the cultivated parts are of a lighter colour, while the sandy bed of the rivers shines through.

The south side of Parasnath may seem to the eye barren, but it contains valuable treasures in its bosom. Dr Oldham states the *Jherria* coal-field can yield 465 millions of tons of coal. "This extensive, though not very rich, *Jherria* coal-field extends along the valley of the Damuda River, commencing about 10 miles to the west of the most westerly part of the Ranigunj field. Its greatest length, which is in an

their possessions. From year to year, the confusion and distress increases; and if the present state of affairs is not soon altered, the Coles must either perish, or emigrate *en masse*. In last November and December, in more than sixty villages, all the rice of the native Christians was cut by the zemindars, and there is not the least hope that any of the zemindars will be punished, or that a handful of the grain will be restored.

In other places where the Christians had cut their own crops, they were caught, beaten, and imprisoned, and in several places not only the crops, but the whole of their property, was taken away. How this calamity will end, only God knows; but we are sure that this confusion and distress is the principle cause why the village schools have hitherto been so unsuccessful. The nine schools contained 162 boys and girls, of whom 106 were of native Christian Coles, the others were Hindoos and Mahomedans.

east and west direction, is about 21 miles, and its greatest breadth (north to south) is about 9 miles. It is traversed throughout all its length, and toward the southern limits of its area, by the Damuda River. The total area may be taken as 200 square miles."

Near it is the *Bokaro* coal-field, which Dr. Oldham calculates will yield 1,500 millions of tons of coal. "The Bokaro coal-field commences not more than a mile to the west of the extreme western extremity of the Jherina field. From this it extends along the valley of the Damuda and of the Bokaro (one of the affluents of the Damuda). It forms a long narrow band of the coal-bearing rocks of more than 40 miles from east to west, with a breadth (north to south) never exceeding $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The total area of the field is about 220 square miles."

The whole country south-west down to the valley of the Soane abounds with coal-fields; so do Ramghur near the Damuda, Etkura, Palamow. Dr. Oldham was so struck with the value of the coal-beds beyond these districts, that he makes the following suggestions regarding a direct railway from Calcutta to Nagpore, *viâ* Sumbulpur —

These coal-fields of Talchery, in conjunction with the reported coal-fields near Chanda, on the Wurda, and also the reported coal-fields in the vicinity of Sumbulpur, will, in a very few years, become of far higher importance and value than they are now. The rapidly increasing trade of Bombay, the certainty that it will be the great port for all postal and passenger communication with Great Britain and Europe, and the necessity which this involves of establishing the most rapid and safe means of transport from Calcutta, which, whether the seat of the Supreme Government or not, must always remain the commercial centre and outlet of the enormous trade of the Gangetic valley. All these will compel (and, so far as I can see, within a very few years) the construction of a line of railway which shall pass direct, or nearly so, from Calcutta to meet the existing lines from Bombay near to Nagpur. Such a line would save on the whole a distance about 450 miles, or even more—a distance which at present Indian railway rates (20 miles per hour) would represent a saving of no less than nearly 24 hours (say even 22), or taken even at English quick rates (40 miles per hour), would be equivalent to a saving of nearly 12 hours—a saving of time in postal, and of fatigue in passenger, communication which cannot be overlooked.

The Trunk Road, which lies directly underneath Parasnath on the south now looks solitary. How very different before the railway opened! It was then a lively scene. Encampments of Sipahi regiments with their soldiers and followers, strings of camels led by the nose, immense lines of waggons, native travellers of all races, dāk-gharis heavily laden, conveying Europeans,

ekkas with their jingling bells,* pilgrims on their way to Jagannath, the bearers of Ganges water, carts heavily laden with cotton,—afforded a never-ceasing subject of interest.

But though the Trunk Road has lost its importance as the link between the North-West and Bengal, we believe it is destined to a new life in connection with the development of the mineral resources of Behar, Chota Nagpore, Manbhum, Singbhum, and it may yet form a link in a line of railway running to Jubbulpore to form a direct line to Bombay.

The sun-rise and sun-set are glorious as seen from Parasnath; the morning sun tipping the Birbhum and Rajmahal Hills, and the evening descending with its purple light on the plateau of Chota Nagpore and Hazaribagh, present a sight the eye is never weary of resting on. Gazing from the top of Parasnath north, the country seems a dead level; but a traveller in 1827, from Palgunj to Madhuban, thus describes it in that day:—

“ Few kinds of wild animals, besides the lion, are wanting in the prodigious wastes that extend in every direction; even wild elephants frequently come down from the neighbouring forests of *Kurrukpoor*, and destroy the huts in small villages for the sake of the grain that has been so carefully stored within. The supply of the miserable ryot, which he has laid by for the year, becomes the single meal of four or five of these resistless monsters, who, demolishing every blade of crop that is standing in the fields, and devouring the contents of every granary, completely expel the inhabitants from homes and lands which it has cost them so much toil to prepare.

“ The destruction of human life by tigers along the banks of the *Barra-kur Nuddy* is enormous; an hundred lives during the year were reported to me as a fair average; and if one-third of this number perish in this horrid manner, the continuance of the natives to inhabit the neighbourhood is a strong instance of their naturally indifferent character. The crops are cut and the lands ploughed to the beat of drum, and so impervious are the jungles to all pursuit of the savage enemy, that the only mode of hunting him with success is to attach some bait to the trunk of the tree, amongst the branches of which the patient hunter must remain concealed with his gun. There is a great scarcity of smaller game in these parts on account of the scanty cultivation and rocky soil.

‘ The village of *Palgunjo* is beautifully situated, in point of landscape, between the large woods that spread to the north and east, and the gradually rising hills to the south-west, that concentrate at last in the majestic pile of *Parasnath*. From this point of view, this fine mountain forms a screen along the greater part of the southern horizon; the deep-blue tinge which it wears at sun-set and moonlight struck me as different from any effects of light and shade which I had observed in other mountainous countries.’

This neighbourhood has greatly improved since that period, and Parasnath is now visited without any danger of tigers by thou-

sands of pilgrims from Central and Western India in January, February, and March, to gaze on the spot where their great saint is said to have made his ascent to heaven. The men and women in their picturesque dresses then present an interesting sight. At other times of the year not a Jain remains, not even the Jain priest of the temple.

Besides these distant views from the top of Parasnath, there are objects of interest for excursions; the nearest is the *mats* or little shrines about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the barracks, placed on pinnacles of the mountain which go round a valley in the form of an amphitheatre. These pinnacles are capped each with *gunite* or *tula*, 20 in all, a solid pile of brickworks. Some are 8 feet high, some only 2.* In each is a small recess; on the flat the print of a foot is marked, revered as the *charan* or last footmark on earth of the Tirthankar or deified saint whose name is engraved below.* There is also an inscription giving the date of the consecration; the oldest is A. D. 1768. They were all re-built by Jagat Set about that period. The old bricks served for the new building, as labour is scarce, and materials few in this country. Hence, no remains of antiquity are to be found; the Jains very different from the Hindoos, built on other men's foundations.

Some of these *mats* are steep and laborious in the ascent, yet the pilgrims have to climb each and present the offerings at every one of rice, sandal, dhup (incense), flower, fruits, and a lamp. They can only go by daylight lest they should destroy the smallest insects in the dark. The pilgrimage is concluded by performing a circuit round the base, a distance of 30 miles. Starting from Madhuban, and returning to it, they then go to the temple of Pawap in Behar and Champapur near Bhagulpur.

The Jain system professed by these pilgrims is an offshoot of Buddhism; it is free from the polytheism and obscenities of Hindooism and its variety of castes. It has sects, however; the leading ones are the Sitambar and the Digambar: the latter profess to wear no clothes, having the atmosphere as their

* The Musulmans revere the *Kadamrasul* or footsteps of Mahomed when he visited places such as Delhi; the Hindoos have the Vishnupad or last footsteps of Vishnu. As the prophet revered Elijah's mantle, his last earthly trace, so do the Jains the last earthly footsteps of a canonised saint.

vesture, or "clothed in light." The Jains may be called the Jews of India, its great traders; they meddle little with land, but are bankers and merchants. When the Buddhists had to fly from India under the fire of Brahminical persecution, the Jains lost their landed-property, but they kept to trade, which was less exposed to plunder.

They are noted for their honesty, which may be expected from the comparatively pure nature of their religion, which inculcates as its five great virtues the not taking life, truth, honesty, chastity, and poverty.

The temples have been repaired and are maintained by Jain merchants of Murshedabad. Jagat Set, one of them, was a very liberal benefactor. The Jains are deists, but they believe that there were twenty-four *Tirthankars*, or holy men, who attained to *Sanyog*, or absorption in God. These saints were revered at first; they are now worshipped (see Colebrooke on the Jain Tirthankars, Asiatic Researches, Vol. IV., p 304). Of these Ajit-nath, Sambunath, Bhunath, all except four obtained *mukti* or death at Parasnath, and from it made the ascent to heaven, choosing this mountain as the scene of their retirement and sanctification; from it they could see their holy land stretching towards Champanagar near Bhagulpur and Rajgrha. The most eminent of these was Parasnath, born at Benares, who spent his last days here, and from the highest and most western of the mountain pinnacles made his ascent to heaven. The Tirthankars were natives some of Oude, others of Delhi, others of Benares, Scinde, Delhi.

An excursion from Parasnath to Madhuban, about 6 miles, will well repay a visit, it is the great place for Jain pilgrims from Rajputana, the Madras Presidency, and Central India. The chief subject of interest is the image of Parasnath of a blue color with the Chatar. The *Chatar* distinguishes the image of *Parswa* or *Parswanath* from those of the other twenty-three *Tirthankars*, which are otherwise undistinguishable by posture or appearance. It is related in the *Jain Shastras* that, in token of approbation for his piety, the deity sent a snake to preserve this favourite saint from the approach of all contaminating things during the period of his *Tapasya*, or abstract devotion; the obedient animal crawling up the neck of the honoured devotee, arched his hooded head above his crown, and retained this attitude of protection and watchfulness until the apotheosis of his ward.

A traveller approaching Madhuban from the Palgunj side thus describes it :—

"After about two hours leisurely marching, from Palgunj I ascended a small hill, from the top of which a view opened suddenly upon my sight, for which I was very little prepared. A panorama, extending far to the east and west, lay before me; nothing impeded my marking the very line at which the pediment of *Parasnath* rose out of the earth; and there, about three miles before me, snugly immersed in the midst of rounded banyan and mango trees, under the very pedestal of the mountain, a collection of brilliantly white temples, with their pointed cupolas, were brightly glittering in the sun. Since I left Europe I had nothing so picturesque as this singular landscape. The contrast of this graceful building, with the deep color of the foliage, the huge shadows of the mountain, and the desert-scene all round, gave a novelty to the combinations of the landscape, indescribable by any comparisons with other views that I can remember. Then indeed that noble pile of hills, revealed in all its grandeur to my sight, looked like a gigantic monarch sitting in state, and surveying the surrounding wide space of his dominions. A lower ridge of the mass, projecting so far beyond the highest pile, that its peak, rising behind, looked like a separate mountain, afforded a singular resemblance to the sitting posture of a giant; and under this stupendous figure the white and shining temples might not unaptly be compared to minute and beautiful toys of ivory, brought as offerings by his subjects, and laid at the feet of the deity."

From Madhuban the pilgrims ascend the mountain by a very steep path for 4 miles amid a magnificent solitude, passing a fine river, *Sita Nuddy*. Near it is a *math* erected by a Jain lady; the path is very steep, and the views in the opening of the forest very grand. Madhuban, with its temples, gardens, trees; the chief temple with its cupola, turrets, steeple; and court-yard with its gallery for the accommodation of the pilgrims, presents a very picturesque appearance; their architecture seems a composite between the Mahomedan mosque and the Hindoo math. The Nabat-khana, balustrades, and bell-turrets, seem Moslem. At the shrine of Madhuban the pilgrim makes the *pindah* or offering for deceased friends of ghi, honey, rice, sugar-candy, and the flower *sankhan*.

The scenery west of Parasnath, the Dunwa Pass, is well worth a visit. A Mrs. Wingrove, who traversed in 1852, thus gives her impressions. They were the days of dâk-travelling, when she took 17 hours from Calcutta to-Burdwan. She thus describes the road between Bagoda and Burkutta :—

"The country now assumed a very different aspect, the road winding among the hills which rose around us on all sides; their sides were richly wooded with low but verdant foliage, and the effect of the varied tints and shadows, cast upon them by the clouds, as they passed over the summits

of the hills, was truly magnificent. Near the road side were numerous small tracts of level ground, all highly cultivated, or where the rice-crops had been cut, affording good pasturage for cows and buffaloes; the former have frequently sweet-toned bells hung round their necks, which sound with pleasing tones as they move along.

"The whole scene was one of rural peace and tranquillity. About three o'clock in the afternoon the scenery became magnificent. New and higher hills than those we had previously seen rose before us; some were very steep and craggy, but all were covered with trees of every variety of tint and foliage.

These hills abound both in bears and tigers, the latter are frequently seen by the natives, and when pressed by hunger, the sheep and cows grazing in the lowlands, often fall a prey to these wild beasts. Deer abound in the wooded heights of these mountains.

"There is some fine timber in this part of the country; and the soil appeared unfavourable to the growth of palm-trees and aloes.

"The day was very cloudy and most favourable for seeing the country in all its wild grandeur. I never saw anything finer in England, although many parts of Devonshire and the Isle of Wight resemble the scenery but on a very limited scale.

"We arrived at Burcutta, a most picturesque little bungalow."

Of the country near the Dunwa Pass she writes;—

"Imagination cannot draw a more charming picture than this spot presented. Lofty hills, with their pointed summits rising one above another, and covered with rich though stunted foliage, surrounded us. The intervening valleys and rocky passes were filled with tops of graceful bamboos and other trees, over whose branches climbed luxuriant creeping plants, while the whole scene was animated by numerous varieties of birds of exquisite plumage. In the long grass by the road side partridges were quietly seeking their evening meal, and flying from tree to tree were numbers of wood-pigeons, doves, minas, and countless varieties of parrots; their green wings glittering in the sun, and their brilliant colours only equalled by that of the young trees on which they perched, and from which they could hardly be distinguished as they swung from branch to branch.

"I have never before seen so many beautiful birds in their natural wild state; the woods and trees seemed alive with them, and their varied notes echoed through the hills with indescribable sweetness. I have since been told this spot is celebrated among bird-fanciers, who go and destroy these happy wild creatures for the sake of their plumage, and to add to their collections of stuffed birds. The King of Oude also sends annually to this part of India for hundreds, and thousands of these splendid birds, from which, when shot, the choicest and most brilliant colours of their feathers are reserved for the decoration of the walls of his palace, in the rooms of which they are arranged with great taste and effect."

A trip to the hot springs of *Surajkund* will well repay a visit. You descend the mountain to *Nimya Ghaut*; pass the lovely bungalow of *Dumri*, 1,429 feet above the sea level, beautifully situated, surrounded by an amphitheatre of wood crowned with hills of gneiss, horn blende, schist, and quartz; tin ore is found at fourteen miles distant, while at *Karrakdya*, twenty miles north, immense masses of mica are procurable, which sell for

four rupees per maund ; three-fourths of the mica used in Bengal is brought from this place. The nilgau abounds in the forests here ; it is the *antelope picta*, about the size of an ox, with sloping back and short horns.

Nor is Parasnath destitute of interest to the botanist.

At *Bagoda*, 214 miles, is to be seen the bombax tree with its buttressed trunk. The road winds beautifully along ; the hills are clad with *Gmelina*, *Terminalia*, *Buchanania* ; " birds abound here, among others, the mohoka (*phœnecopus tristis*), a walking cuckoo, with a voice like that of its English name sake." The views to the east are magnificent.

We come to *Belkuppei*, 28 miles from Parasnath, and 300 yards from the road are four hot-springs, in little ruined brick tanks, about six feet across. There is a tank here twelve feet in diameter, supplied by a cold spring, which flows between two hot ones ; they all meet and flow together into one large tank ; one of them is hot enough to boil eggs, and has a horrid, nauseous taste, reminding one of the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle ; salt is deposited. Dr. Hooker found the temperature of these hot-springs to be 169°, 170°, 173°, and 190°, while that of the cold springs in their immediate neighbourhood was 75°. Various plants grow in the water. A water-beetle abounded at a temperature of 112°, and frogs were very active at 90°.

The *Burkutta* river is a large stream in the rains, carrying along gneiss and granite boulders.

Barshatti, 240 miles, is noted for its magnificent tops of mango, banyan, and pipul trees. *Borassia*, a kind of palm trees, are to be seen here eighty feet high ; their lower part is a short cone, tapering to one-third the height of the stem, the trunk to two-thirds. The Indian *olibanum* tree is here " conspicuous for its pale bark and curving branches, leafy at their apices." A fragrant and transparent gum exudes from its trunk.

Burhi has, three miles to the east, the Barrakur bridge, a noble stone edifice of 9 arches, each of fifty feet span. To the north of Burhi are copper, lead, mica, and iron-mines. A little beyond Burhi the road is 1,524 feet above the sea level. we then pass the bed of the Barrakur, an affluent of the Damuda. After this, excepting the Dhunwa Pass, we have no more of the wooded hills, which had continued for 120 miles ; the table-land is near its termination.

Near *Champaran*, 257 miles, and 1,526 feet above the sea, is the commencement of the *Dhunwa Pass*. Champaran is 1,311

feet above the sea level ; from this the Ramghur table-land, which has had wooded hills for 120 miles, begins to stoop to the Behar plains below, which extend in one uniform level to the foot of the Himalayas. The Dhunwa Pass leads to the valley down a broken hill of gneiss, six miles, with a descent of nearly 1,000 feet ; of this 600 are very rugged and steep, constructed by the sappers and miners in 1836-37. The views from it are very beautiful : an amphitheatre of wood-capped hills, the continuation of a chain stretching from Cambay to Rajmahal. The bambu here is green, whereas at a higher level it is yellow or white. Wild peacocks are in the wood. Some large and handsome stone bridges are at the foot of the pass ; that at Bhawa is a very fine one, and crosses the Mohana torrent with five arches of sixty-five feet span each.

We return now from the west to the north of Parasnath. *Kurhurbali* is 16 miles to the north-east, and will, we hope, ere long be accessible by a road, proposed to connect it with Bagoda and so on direct to Hazaribagh. These coal-mines, which are to be the great source of supply for all places above Rajmahal, will enable coal to be sold at Patna at the same rate as Ranigunj coal is sold in Calcutta. They are worth a visit, as is the country for its varied scenery and plateau well adapted for encamping troops. Dr. Oldham calculates the coal will yield 168 millions of tons of coal equal in working power to 199 millions of ordinary Ranigunj coal. Between Kurhurbali and the Rajmahal Hills there are some small outliers of the coal-bearing rock. *Palgunj* is about 10 miles distant from Parasnath.

At *Palgunj* the devotional duties of the Jain pilgrims who flock to this remote spot from every part of India, even from the furthest provinces of the *Dukhun*, commence. The zemindar, who has dubbed himself with the title of Rajah, is considered by that sect as the guardian of the holy lands, and has in his possession a small image of *Parasnath*, which every pilgrim pays for worshipping before he proceeds to the temples at the foot and on the summit of the mountain. The Rajah's ancestors came originally from Rohilkund and hill-provinces of Parasnath. He claims, though Hindoo, the offerings of the Jain pilgrim, on the ground that Parasnath appeared to him and made him the grant.

The *Ghatwals* here were famous for levying a rich harvest from the Jain pilgrims who passed through it on to Parasnath. The Rajah and his Amlahs levy it now. After paying it the pilgrims proceed to Madhuban.

Kurakdeha is the seat of a Rajah who belongs to the most ancient family in the country.

The surface soil of Parasnath is a black mould produced by vegetable decomposition ; the sub-soil is sandy red clay.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1863, is a paper by Dr. Anderson on the Flora of B  har and the Mountain Parasnath, collected by Messrs. Hooker, Edgeworth, Thompson, and Anderson, giving a list of more than 600 different plants. Dr. McClelland in his Report of the Geological Survey of India, 1848-49, presents another list. The *mohur* tree, compared by Dr. Hooker to the English oak, gives with its spreading noble appearance a park-like appearance to the country. The favourite spirit of the country, *mowa*, is distilled from its flowers. The *butea frondosa* affords food to the lac insects which yields the lac-dye of commerce. The *berberi* shrub, a good febrifuge, grows plentifully over the hills. The *sukna* trees show a clear stem of 50 or 60 feet before the branches shoot out. There are innumerable creepers of the finest fibre and the most gigantic sinews. "The variety of their appearance is inexhaustible: sometimes they hung in beautiful festoons from branch to branch; sometimes their thick stems encircled the trunks of the trees like crushing snakes, yet darting out harmless limbs from above, that inclosed a thousand giants of the forest in one embrace; sometimes they fell from high branches to the ground, twisting into complicated knots by the way; and sometimes they covered the crowns of the fine trees with a hood of beautiful flowers, that made a complete arbour beneath." Wild bananas abound: *s  l* timber is abundant, yielding *dhuna*, or gum. *Jarul* is found. Parasnath has been favoured in its trees, for the Jains regard the felling a tree as bad as murder, inasmuch as it is the destruction of life.

The *geologist* may amuse himself: the country to the north of Parasnath is composed entirely of gneissose rocks, with intercalated beds of horn blende slates, and horn blende rock, with occasional granite, thick quartzose veins, and trap-dykes to Kurhurar coal-field.

To the *antiquarian* Parasnath is connected with deeply interesting associations; it is the centre of a land which though for ages given over to the tiger and wild aboriginal tribes, though now the Boetia of Bengal, was yet once the seat of empire. We quote here what we wrote long ago in this *Review* on the subject in an article on Buddhism.

"The religion of Buddhism was originally from Hindoostan, and spread over the greater part of Asia. Its dominion extended from the sources of the Indus to the Pacific Ocean, and even to Japan. The fierce Nomades of Central Asia have been changed by it into men virtuous and mild, and its beneficial

influence is felt as far as Central Siberia. Buddhism, originating in North India, spread from Bengal to Kashmir north, and Ceylon-south."

"Behar, or Magadh, was formerly the seat of a great empire. In the time of Sandracottus, or Chandragupta, Asoko reigned at Patna, B. C. 319. He was the king of all India. His edicts, engraved on rocks from Kattak to Girnar in Guzurat, and on the Delhi, Allahabad, and other columns, have been decyphered through the labours of J. Prinsep and Dr. Mill. Behar is famous in all Buddhist countries for having been the scene of the life and labours of Buddha, the great teacher. He flourished, according to the Chinese accounts, and in the opinion of Klaproth and Wilson, 1,000 B. C. He was born at Gya, the son of Sudadan, king of Magadh, and of the family of Sakya. When grown up, he retired to the desert, where he spent six years in contemplation and ascetic practices; he then proceeded with a band of followers to Benares to propagate his doctrines, which were opposed by the advocates of fire worship, who had come from Persia. He travelled as far as Ceylon, and through Magadh, diffusing his tenets. Rajgriha, "the mountain-girt city," was a celebrated metropolis, situated to the south of Gya, long the seat of empire and a centre for Buddhism in Behar, until the court was removed to Palibothra by king Asoko. Buddha itinerated in the mountainous region to the south of it, preaching his doctrines. Jarasand, king of India, also resided here; some ruins yet remaining are said to have been built by him."

Our brief sketch is finished. We trust that Parasnath may ere long emerge from its obscurity; and while appreciated as a minor sanatorium, the hill with its associations and the surrounding country may excite an interest in the social and commercial development of a district hitherto a *terra incognita*.

ART VI.—THE ANNALS OF OUR CONNECTION
WITH INDIA, ENDING WITH THE EMBASSY OF
SIR THOMAS ROE.

1. *The Rise of our Indian Empire.* By Lord Mahon. London: Printed by John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859.
2. *Mill's History of India.* James Madden, 8, Leadenhall Street.

SO varied have the changes been, diversifying the pages of Indian history; so great has been its claim to antiquity; so unchanging during many changes have the manners, the customs, the language of the great population of the Indian Empire been; and so neglectful in remembering the events of their own past history, or of recording those events faithfully, have the natives of India been, that a story from the fables of Pilpay or from the pages of the Arabian Nights, might be borrowed for an illustration. The great changes which have taken place, successively changing its destiny, have as yet left no marked impress, and have left the great mass of the people unchanged. We shall quote a passage from the narrative of Khiddz, an allegorical personage, in a manuscript tale still preserved in the imperial library at Paris, by an Arabian writer, Mahomed Karurini.

"I passed one day by a very ancient and wonderfully populous city, and asked one of its inhabitants how long it had been founded. 'It is indeed a mighty city,' replied he; 'we know not how long it has existed, and our ancestors were on this subject as ignorant as ourselves.' Five centuries afterwards, as I passed by the same place, I could not perceive the slightest vestige of the city. I demanded of a peasant who was gathering herbs upon its former site, how long it had been destroyed. 'In sooth, a strange question,' replied he; 'the ground here has never been different from what you now behold it.' 'Was there not of old,' said I, 'a spendid city here?' 'Never,' answered he, 'so far as we have seen; and never did our fathers speak to us of any such.' On my return there five hundred years afterwards, I found the sea in the same place, and on its shores were a party of fishermen, of whom I required

how long the land had been covered by the waters 'Is this a question,' say they, 'for a man like you?' This spot has always been what it is now.' I again returned five hundred years afterwards, the sea had disappeared. I enquired of a man who stood alone upon the spot, how long this change had taken place, and he gave me the same answer as I had received before. Lastly, on coming back again after an equal lapse of time, I found there a flourishing city, more populous and more rich in beautiful buildings than the city I had seen the first time; and when I would fain have informed myself concerning its origin, the inhabitants answered me, 'Its rise is lost in remote antiquity. We are ignorant how long it has existed, and our fathers were on this subject as ignorant as ourselves.'*

Of the many changes which have taken place in India, none have been fraught with so many great results as that which has placed under British rule the teeming populations of this great empire, the race of the builders of Ellora, and the rock-excavated temples of Elephanta and Mahavellipore, and the heirs of the great Mogul.

We purpose in this article briefly to trace the early connection of the British with India. If we are not greatly mistaken, this portion of the history of British India will be found not the less interesting from its obscurity, and from its exemplifying the origin of our eastern greatness.

The history of India during that early period, when the British first landed in India, must always be interesting. We shall endeavour, therefore, to review that period when the first intercourse of the British nation with India commenced, and to record those events—half political, half commercial—which ended in the establishment of the first Company on a durable basis. If we mistake not, this subject, so little touched upon in previous histories, will be found to be an interesting portion of British Indian history: and in the efforts of the first traders will be found the traces of that subsequent indomitable will, which has resulted in establishing the English supremacy in India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan Mountains. Long before the first English traders landed, the Portuguese had settled in India, had explored some portion of its coasts, had enriched themselves after the manner that a civilized race would enrich itself at the expense of a feeble and half-civilized race, had enjoyed and abused the advantages they possessed—the

* Timb's Curiosities of Science.

advantages of superior knowledge and skill exerted against half-civilised races, ignorant of the use of fire-arms, and untrained in military discipline. Vasco de Gama was the first to brave the stormy passage round that Cape which had baffled so many previous attempts, and which had then been called the Cape of Storms; and in 1498, with a handful of equally daring companions, he set foot on Calicut. To the natives on the beach,* that small ship which first anchored in sight within a few miles of the town, was an object of marvel; as was the ship of Columbus to the Red Indians of America. The praise of Vasco de Gama was sung by Camoens. The valour of his captains called forth the admiration of a court which had heard without enthusiasm of the services of great commanders who had studied to eclipse the daring of Columbus.

Of this town, where the Zamorin, the successor of the Tamuri Rajahs, once lived in legal splendour, but few traces of its old magnificence is still left. The once capacious haven has been drifted in by sand. Its great Brahminical monastery is in ruins and to the traveller viewing it from the point from which it had first been seen by the followers of Vasco, nothing is discernible beyond a few lines of huts shaded by cocoanut or palmyra trees.† Twelve years later the forces of Albuquerque plundered the town and burnt the palace of its kings.

By a series of bold exploits the Portuguese had extended the settlement from the Coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf; and a century had not elapsed, when they had achieved fresh conquests, had explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and adventurers had astonished Europe with the story of gigantic fortunes rapidly amassed. It was not long after, that the example thus set by Portugal was followed by the other European states; and a century and a half had scarcely elapsed when English, Danish, and French factories rose alongside of the factories built by the Portuguese.

That India should have been left unvisited by the English, would indeed have been strange. The wealth of India had always attracted the cupidity of the monarchs of the west, The commerce of the east had, for ages past, enriched the states which had traded with her. Syria, Egypt, Venice, Persia, Greece, had owed their wealth and growing opulence to

* Edye on the Seaports of Malabar.

† Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, I., p. 204.

“ their overland trade with India.” It had added to the greatness of the Venetian republic. It had retarded the downfall of the Byzantine Empire. India and the gorgeous east were often synonymous; the land of spices and of precious stones, where diamonds glittered on the base of the pedestals of Hindoo gods, and where sequins and goldmohurs were buried underneath, or else entombed within, the framework of their stone-carved deities.

At no period of British history had the love of maritime enterprise been so great. The spirit of commerce, once fairly roused, began rapidly to develop itself. Trading Companies were formed. The successes of Cabot, of Vasco de Gama, and of Albuquerque, had fired the imagination, while it had excited the cupidity, of the English nation. Private gentlemen offered to accompany the expeditions then manned, as volunteers. English nobles mortgaged their estates, and sold their plate to equip small fleets of their own.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward IV., efforts were made to reach India by a north-east passage. Thorne, an English merchant, who had lived nearly all his life in Seville, returned to lay his project of a north-west passage before Henry VIII. The great object was then, if possible, to effect a passage to India by a route which would enable them to trade with India without giving umbrage to the Portuguese. Sir Hugh Willoughby endeavoured to discover a passage to the East Indies, and sailed to Norway, but was met with a storm so severe at the North Cape, that his boldest mariners quailed, and with his entire crew was wrecked off the shores of Lapland.* Martin Frobisher manned a pinnace and two boats, and ardently endeavoured to discover a passage by steering north-west through Hudson's Bay. A few years later, Captain Davis with greater success sailed further north, and gave his name to the straits which he had discovered.* Most of their voyages had been unsuccessful; but the hopes once entertained of reaching India by sailing west were never abandoned, and were at a later period destined to meet with success. That the discovery of the eastern passage by the Cape of Good Hope was one which must have occurred in the course of time, there are some that will doubt: that that discovery was accelerated by the reputation of the discovery made by Columbus and by Americus Vesputius in the west, will not be denied.

It was to discover a passage to the east by sailing westward, that led Columbus and his small crew of one hundred and twenty men to the shores of *San Salvador* and Hispaniola. That discoveries so great should have been made, is not strange; but that two discoveries so great and eventful in themselves should have been made within so few years of each other, is indeed strange. At recurring periods of the world's history, great upheavals of mind will often be found to occur, changing its destiny and remodelling its institutions. The causes which may, in each case, give rise to great results may not at the time be valued at their proper estimate; the results, however, are not the less permanent or marked. So singular has been the position of the magnetic compass in that class of the great inventions of any age, that it is difficult to say whether greater results have sprung for good, from any prior or subsequent inventive processes. Others might easily have been replaced in the course of time; not so the compass. The printing or the typographic art—that art which has done more for civilizing the great human race—might have found a substitute in the present zincographic art; and the actinic rays of the sun might have been employed, by an improved photographic process, to diffuse knowledge and to disseminate ideas. The electric telegraph might have found a substitute in that rude system of signalling by semaphores which had been adopted for the success of great naval engagements; or sound, instead of electricity, might have been made to diminish time and space. The language of chimes might have been employed. The steam-engine might be replaced by an ether engine in the course of years. In either case no permanent loss would have occurred. Without the aid of the compass, the civilization of the west would not have been grafted on the decaying civilization and on the effete institutions of the east. Europe would not have established a permanent trade with India; and the brilliant discoveries of Columbus would not have added a new world for the over-crowded population of Europe. It frequently does so happen, that whatever might be the nature of the difficulty to contend with, causes, apparently incommensurate with the great ends which they achieve, are productive of results which leave a lasting impress on the world's history. The great events which leave an impress on the history of nations, are connected together by invisible links, which often, buried under the surface, re-appear, indicating the great lines of a continuous chain. Thus has it been with the march of events, which has connected

the destinies of the British Empire with those of India. There are hidden causes always at work, secret springs of action which work out those great moral or political changes which leave their lasting impress on the era of the world's history.

Whether in the rise and fall of the Persian or Grecian dynasties; whether in the rapid rise and the extended dominion of the Roman Empire; whether in the permissive conquests of Mahomet, and the spread of Islamism from the Oxus to the Tagus; whether in the discovery of the new world by the genius and inspiration of an obscure navigator; whether in the extension of British supremacy over so great a part of the civilized world; causes have been at work, working out those great ends which appear to have been predestined, and which tend to work out the unity, the progress, the development of civilization, of the different races of the earth. Thus, too, when the ancient civilization of the east becomes effete, a more active civilization—a civilization based on the energy of the west—is engrafted on the institutions of the east.

One result of this great and unprecedented spirit of adventure which had manifested itself in the sixteenth century, was to throw a new life into the spirit of commerce. In a few years, trade was established on a firm basis with the Netherlands; and while the merchants of Plymouth traded for silks and wares with Guinea and Brazil, the merchants of Bristol entered on an equally lucrative trade with Newfoundland and the Canary Islands. While English sailors explored the icebergs of Spitzbergen, or amused themselves by harpooning walruses or shooting wild bears among the frozen seas of the Arctic, another band of daring seamen, on the point of being wrecked, found unexpected shelter in the harbour of Archangel, and laid the foundation of a lasting commercial intercourse with the natives of that place. It was at this period that Company of merchant adventurers were first formed, who were destined at no late period to change the dynasty of India.

Two events tended to hasten the formation of a Company for India. One was the memorable voyage of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to Java, by the Pacific Ocean; the other was the equally successful voyage, by the same route, of Thomas Cavendish.

Both Francis Drake and Cavendish made the voyage round the world; and both had proved themselves to be naval commanders of no ordinary type. But to Sir Francis Drake must undoubtedly belong the honor of having been the first English

man, and the first British naval commander, who had succeeded in making that remarkable voyage.

Magellan had indeed tried it; but before the voyage had been made, he had ceased to live.

The son of a clergyman, Francis Drake early evinced his love of daring adventure. In 1567 he sailed with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, to the Bay of Mexico. Three years later, he commanded an expedition to the West Indies. Subsequently we read of him as sacking the town of Nombre de Dios. It was then that he fancied he discovered, from an elevation on some high range of hills, glimpses of that great ocean which divided India from America. He returned to obtain the royal permission to equip a fleet and lead an expedition which would, for boldness of design, have vied with that of Magellan. After cruising about the western coasts of America, and after having taken much plunder, he left America to sail across that apparently illimitable ocean on which but one ship had as yet ventured.

The passage was a fortunate one. Land was at last reached. The dawn, as it ushered in the day, disclosed through the haze, the dim outlines of land. As the morning mists were dispelled, those on board could discern clearly the shores of an island rising out of the waves. Its low beach seemed to fade away into distant summits. Dark-green foliage clothed the beach, and in the distance might be seen the faint outlines of blue hills standing out in relief against deep-blue skies. The sailor landed, and learnt that the island was called Ternate, one of the group of the Moluccas. In that visit was first laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse from which influences so vast should subsequently spring. To Drake and his followers everything had the appearance of novelty:—the swarthy natives, their strange garb, their semi-rude appearance bearing a resemblance to that of the Red Indians of America, their strange language, their gestures of surprise, their numbers, the graceful folds of their large turbans, the apparent richness of the island, the rich luxuriance of the groves, the intense glare of the noon-day sun. Drake was received by the king with pleasure. He was shewn over the island, introduced to the Court, invited to the palace.

Exchange of presents led to a further exchange of goods, and the vessel of Drake, after being richly laden with spices, set sail, not however before touching at Java, for that passage round the Cape which had hitherto been monopolized by the

Portuguese. On their return to England, they had much to relate of their impressions of the east. They had, it is true, not landed in India, or touched at Ceylon, but even those islands where they had landed, were not devoid of natural beauty. The thick foliage of trees, the rich verdure of the grass, the tropical appearance of the graceful palms, the yellow beach lined with wondering swarthy savages, proclaimed a new creation—the abodes of a race of people whose very existence had not before been surmised; and as the rudest and most ignorant of that small crew of brave English sailors scanned the faces or surveyed the savages as they plied in the track of the great English vessel in their rude canoes hollowed out of the bark of single trees, it would scarcely be a subject for wonder if he did not look upon himself as belonging to a far superior species than the staring and wondering natives before him, with their heads covered with rags or with the twisted fibres of the date-palm.

At the time when Drake's vessel anchored at Ternate, the sovereign of that island was at enmity with the Portuguese, who had settlements in Java, and who had already been enriched by the commercial relations which had been established between them and the islanders of Malaysia, or the Malay Archipelago. This island, the most valuable of the Malacca group, was then governed by a king who ruled also over seventy other islands, and who, though not civilized, gave Drake and his crew a courteous reception. Those islands were then, as they are now, famed for their trade in cinnamon, in cloves, in ivory, and in horns; and although few signs of refinement or civilization could be traced among the homesteads of the people, the Court and palace of the king showed traces of magnificence, if not of oriental splendour.

The capital and the seat of sovereignty, Ternate had then the largest trade of any of its adjacent sister islands. Although not large in its extent, it contained a single mountainous chain with a lofty peak, the crater of an extinct volcano. Thick foliage and tropical plants covered the islands, and groups of hills indicated the houses or homesteads of the uncouth and dusky islanders. With these islanders the crew of the English vessel exchanged presents; and after loading their vessel with spices, they set sail westward.

Sailing four degrees south, their attention was attracted by a chain of hills on one of the adjacent islands; and landing, they were struck with the wondrous fertility of the island of

Java. Java had not yet attained to the celebrity it subsequently attained as a model Dutch settlement.

It was peopled by a mixed race of Malays, Javanese, and Chinese. The Mahometan religion prevailed. Its shores, washed by the Southern Indian Ocean, offered facilities for harbours, which were subsequently extensively developed by the maritime genius of its Dutch conquerors. As at Ternate, the palms and cocoanuts, the thick vegetation, and the tropical foliage, added to the interest of the scene, and prolonging his stay for a few days, Drake set sail, steering for that passage by the Cape, then exclusively claimed by the Portuguese, but which subsequently was destined, for nearly half a century, to be the high road of the commerce between the east and the west.

They found the voyage a calm one. On sighting land, they touched at the Cape of Good Hope. At a distance they could see the high lands and extensive plateaux of Table Mount, running parallel with the southern coast. At that period the southern mountain terraces of Africa were not explored, and Table Mountain, which rises above Cape Town, and which frowns on the sea from a height of more than three thousand feet, was known only to the savage bushmen, or the still more savage Hottentots.

At that period, no flourishing settlements marked the progress of British colonization. A few houses rudely built, and a city without any pretensions to European comforts, indicated where the Portuguese had first landed. At present it forms one of the most flourishing of British colonial settlements. To the naval genius and enterprize of a Portuguese navigator must be ascribed the first discovery of Cape Town, so early as 1486. Bartholomew Diaz, a navigator, impelled by a zeal for discovery, sailed eastward, and while rounding the African Cape, experienced disastrous storms in the tempestuous sea which washes the southernmost coast of Africa. He landed in the nearest bay, and called the bold projecting promontory the "Cape of Tempests." The good sense and better taste of John II., king of Portugal, led him to change its name to that of the "Cape of Good Hope." His wish, which was not destined to be frustrated, led him to believe that the passage thus discovered, might eventually be the high road to the East Indies; and a happy and felicitous thought led him to call it by that name, which it has ever since borne. Eleven years later, Vasco de Gama, with greater success, doubled the passage, and, by so doing, removed that barrier which had so long shut out the enterprize of Europe from one-half of the

eastern world. For nearly a century before Drake's vessel touched at Cape point or anchored at Table Bay, the passage by the Cape and the commerce with the east were monopolized by the Portuguese. At that period, Bushmen ranged over the lands, and by the banks of the Keiskamma, the elephant, and the Briede Berg River, hyenas and wolves, made their lairs. At present, Cape Town presents a pleasing appearance. Its parallel streets, watered and intersected by numerous canals, its churches and chapels, its Exchange and its Observatory, its public library and its botanic and horticultural gardens, its theatres and places of public amusements, place it in the rank of cities not much inferior to Marseilles or Lyons. On the meadows and pasture-lands at the foot of the great table which had once owned the tiger or the wolf for its denizens, Merino sheep, not much inferior to the Coteswold breed, might now be seen to be pasturing; and on once arid or barren plains might be seen promising fields and broad corn-lands. The energy of its settlers led them to develop the mineral resources of the country. The gold washings in the basin of the Orange River, and the copper mines of the country, have been a source of profit to the proprietors, as well as a source of gain to the colony.

The crew of the vessel commanded by Drake found that the navigation of the Cape of Good Hope was not so dangerous, the seas round the Cape not so tempestuous, as they had imagined. They set sail after making themselves acquainted with the country; and after a voyage which was protracted over a space of two years and ten months, they had the good fortune of anchoring safely in Plymouth Sound.

Rarely had the Sound presented a scene of so much stirring interest as when Drake's vessel anchored there from its voyage round the world. The news rapidly spread of his return. The elevated esplanade of the Hoe then, as now the favourite promenade of the towns-people, was lined with people who thronged to see the vessel which had sailed round the world, a vessel which was commanded by a man who had so well distinguished himself as a daring and successful seaman. As the ship lay anchored in the Sound with the ripples glittering and glancing in the sunbeams, and as curious eyes surveyed or scanned the crew who had braved so many dangers, a feeling of pride might have been excused in its commander. For in an age distinguished for the fame of its great naval captains, men like Sir Hugh Willoughby, Martin Frobisher, Davis, and Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and Sir Richard

Grenville, Drake alone had achieved signal success in an enterprize which, even in that age of daring commanders, was considered to be an expedition not unattended with great risk, and still greater chances of ultimate failure.

When he landed, everywhere he met with a warm reception. The Queen conferred the dignity of the Honor of Knighthood on him. She accepted an invitation on board of his vessel at Deptford, and received him graciously at Court. The populace greeted him with applause, songs and epigrams were composed, describing his naval exploits, and commemorating his deeds.

If the expedition of Sir Francis Drake was successful, that of Thomas Cavendish to the East Indies was not less so. On the 21st July 1586, he set sail for the East Indies with three vessels. He crossed the Atlantic, committed some depredations on the American Coast, captured a rich Spanish frigate, visited the islands of the Indian Archipelago, touched at one of the Ladrone Islands and at Java, and, after effecting an exchange trade with the natives of those islands where he touched, returned by the Cape to England, and anchored at Plymouth after a successful voyage. He was knighted by the Queen, and the wealth which he amassed enabled him to purchase an earldom. In a few years he dissipated his large fortune, and once more returned to the East Indies. This expedition was not, however, so successful as the first, and he died whilst making his return voyage.

The successful results of these two expeditions fired the genius of the English nation, while it led to the coalition of that Company of merchant adventurers who first undertook to lay the scheme before the public of trading on an extensive scale with India.

In 1599, a Company was formed, under the title of "the Company of Merchants of London for trading with the East Indies," which, at no late period, was destined to extend its sway over some of the most fertile parts of the Indian Peninsula, to dictate its own terms to the feeble heirs of the great Mogul, and to wield the destiny of thousands.

In 1600 A. D., a royal charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth; and the privilege was conceded to them to purchase lands without limitation, and to have a monopoly of trade for 15 years with the East Indies.

At the commencement, the trade was not extensive; but small as the Company's power to trade was, and limited as their

means were, the profits were, nevertheless, large. It was not uncommon to make 100 per cent. of profits on their capital; and in some cases it even exceeded that percentage. The extensiveness of the profits made it desirable that a stricter monopoly of trade should be secured by charter. Thus, on the accession of Charles, on the renewal of the charter, one of the provisions enacted that any Englishmen found trading without a license might be seized, imprisoned, and returned to England.

Such was the commencement of that policy which has, for more than a century, influenced the Government of India.*

That it was a policy which has not been productive of large or permanent results may well be doubted; for it has been a policy which has been based on the restrictive regulations of a monopoly, and not upon those of a liberal or colonial trade.

If the manufactures and trade of Great Britain have increased, and if the Government of India and the administration of the country have been prosperous, that increase and prosperity are not to be ascribed to the early policy of the mercantile system which first introduced a system of monopoly, but in spite of that policy. However strong the tendency might have been at first, to establish those barriers in India to free trade, it must be admitted that a gradual change in that policy has taken place—a change which is likely to result in large and permanent results for good. And that it should be otherwise, would indeed have been strange. The history of the growth of the colonial system has shown that, as a rule, the first efforts to establish a Colony must assume the form of a monopoly.

The first settlements will necessarily be made by the efforts of individuals, and not by any efforts of the State. The wealth and the resources of the richest individuals, unless supplemented by the subscribed capital of trading companies, would be unequal to contend against the competition of other nations in foreign markets and in distant countries, the shores of which, ships might reach with difficulty. The exclusiveness of the monopoly would secure them against all other competitors, and enable them to enjoy those large dividends which are frequently the results of an exclusive trade.

* The change of the Government to the Crown will, it is hoped, materially alter this policy. The greater the facilities for European colonization may be, the greater will be the hopes of the future amelioration of India.

Without an exclusive trade it is possible that the great risks of the trade with the East Indies would not, in the first instance, have been undertaken; nor is it improbable that, if to the first adventurers extraordinary encouragement had not been given, extraordinary risks would not have been run, and small capitals would not have been hazarded in distant or uncertain speculations. In this respect, the example which had been set by the early traders with the east from Sweden and Denmark, was copied by the first traders with the east from Great Britain.* To effect a monopoly and to trade in a Chartered Company, was therefore the first plan of the merchant adventurers. How that policy was carried out, and how successfully the Company withstood the encroachments of all rival Companies, might be seen in the memoirs and annals of that period.

The early history of the East India Company's trade shews how successful that policy proved in the beginning. That great dividends had been obtained, there cannot be the slightest doubt. From the debates in the Houses of Parliament, from the journal of the House of Commons, from the many pamphlets which were published at that time on the statistics of the trade with the East Indies, those gains might have been said to be almost incredible. In the year 1676, so large had been the gains, that every shareholder and stockholder of the old East India Company were paid a premium which doubled the stock they held. The dividends rose proportionately. Twenty per cent. was not considered too high as an annual dividend. The Directors of the old Company soon amassed enormous wealth. Rapid fortunes were made. Speculations rose high. It has been said that more than one wealthy merchant on the Royal Exchange hazarded the greater part of his fortunes in East India shares. In the city of London, the power and the influence of the East India merchants rose high. A large edifice, not so stately as the subsequent house in Leadenhall Street, or so magnificent as the pile of buildings which now look down on Saint James's Park, was engaged by the Directors. The rooms were gloomy, the passages narrow. At present the India House might vie with any of those majestic buildings, with the exception of Buckingham Palace and the

* The first charter was exclusive. It prohibited the rest of the community from trading within the limits assigned to the Company.—Mill, p 17, vol i.

Houses of Parliament, which surround Saint James's Park, or which rise on either side of Hyde Park. Nevertheless, in those dingy offices, for many years, the great business of the Company was carried on: Treaties were signed with eastern potentates ruling over vast territories larger than many of the continental states of Europe, and war commenced or peace concluded, with native chiefs governing races, semi-civilized it is true, but exceeding in numbers twenty times the population of England. It is not many months ago that the Council of India met for the first time* in that new building which as an administrative edifice is as superior to the Westminster Palace Hotel as the Westminster Palace Hotel was superior to the building in Leadenhall Street. The new India Office in Downing Street was fitly inaugurated by a sumptuous banquet and princely entertainment to the Sultan. Many administrative changes may be expected to emanate from that small cabinet who hold their sittings there. The old traditionary and commercial policy of the East India Company is now as much a thing of the past as the old building in Leadenhall Street with its quaint façade of the Elizabethan period, and its still quaint figure-head and sign. We have been drifting," says a recent writer, "from an old into a new state of things. There has been a continual tendency towards a fusion of the Indian into the Imperial Government. The Indian army has become a part of the Imperial army. Even some departments of the old India House have merged into departments of the great Imperial establishment. The new Administration requires a building worthy of an Imperial office.† And that it has one worthy in every way as a state office for a great empire, will not be doubted by those who have visited the building since its erection. The architecture is as imposing when viewed from outside as its decorations are graceful inside. The large tower, the graceful façade as viewed from Charles Street or the Park, the Doric

* *Homeward Mail*, September 5, 1867.

† It may not be impossible that with a new administration, a new cabinet, new and fresh ideas, an enlightened public opinion, and a freer discussion of Indian affairs, a new state of things might be inaugurated for India. It is not improbable that before the new Indian Office is many years older, before its visage is darkened by London smoke, we shall see some changes for good or for evil, which it is difficult to calculate — *Homeward Mail*.

columns and pilasters of the lower story, the red Peterhead granitic Ionic columns of the second story, the bases of the columns of red Mansfield stone, its long line of corridors and graceful Corinthian cornice, have placed this building among the most graceful of modern architectural structures. Nor is the interior less worthy of admiration. The grand staircase leading up from the Charles Street entrance has four of the finest statues which the old East India House could offer. Leading from the entrance, might be seen Flaxman's well known statue of Warren Hastings. From it the eye might easily wander to the admirably sculptured statues of Wellesley, Wellington, Clive, and Eyre Cooto. Nor are there wanting bas reliefs. Representations of Indian fruits and flowers might be seen among the architectural ornaments, while some striking incidents in Anglo-Indian History appear in bold relief,—The Signature of the treaty of Seringapatam, The Surrender of the arms of the Seikh chiefs, The Grant of the Deccan to Clive, and The Reception of the ambassador deputed by Queen Elizabeth at the Court of the Mogul. It is curious to note that not only the old statuary which had decorated the East India House in Leadenhall Street, but also much of the old furniture, is still retained at the new India House. The Secretary of State *still* sits in that chair from which, years ago, the Directors of the Old East India Company thanked Clive and Hastings for the great and distinguished services rendered by them in the east. At the time, however, of which we are writing, the Company's office in the city of London was small and unpretending; and its trade-returns during the first decade, though highly promising, bore no proportion to the magnificent proportions of its future returns. The goods that were first exported consisted principally of cloth, lead, tin, and glass-ware.

In 1612, only one ship was sent to the Indian Seas; and a few years later, the establishment of a new Company in Dowgate, which held its sittings in Skinner's Hall, proved nearly fatal to the interests of the trade with the East Indies.

While the establishment of a Company was under discussion, and while the clauses of the charter were not yet defined, in the year 1600 the Queen deputed John Middenhall to the Court of Akbar. No records are left of the results of that embassy beyond the fact that he obtained a firmaun, that he was well received at Court, that he returned in a few years to England, but that subsequently, re-visiting India, he died at Agra.

In the year 1600, the consent of the Government was obtained to equip a fleet of five ships* for an Indian voyage. Captain James Lancaster commanded the fleet, and thirty-six factors, on salaries varying with their different trusts, accompanied. On the second of May 1601, the vessels set sail from Torbay. After a prosperous voyage, they landed at Acheen in Sumatra. They found the island of Sumatra large. A chain of mountains rising in their highest point to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, added to the picturesqueness of the place. The rivers were navigable. The climate, though sultry, was bearable. Tropical fruits were found in abundance. The natives were found tractable, and readily entered into a treaty of commerce; and for such articles or implements of iron-ware as Lancaster's crew had with them, they offered in exchange those natural products of their island—pepper and benzoin, cassia and camphor, aloes, spices, and fruits. Amicable arrangements having been concluded, the vessels set sail for Java.

Captain Lancaster delivered his letters, and, after leaving an agent behind, returned in 1603 to England, after making a considerable percentage of profits for his employers, the East India Company of adventurers.

In ten years subsequently, eight other voyages were made to the east. The success of those voyages created some opposition on the part of the Portuguese, and in 1611, defeating a large Portuguese armament, the English succeeded in landing at Surat.

The first impressions of Surat were not calculated to impress the English favorably with the wealth and the civilization of India. Nearly half a century later, Tavernier,* in that pleasant and graphic style which makes his travels so readable and interesting, described Surat† as a town with a wretched fort, with dwellings built of mud which resemble barns, shut in by reeds dabbled with wattle and mud. A century later, in manufacturing and commercial prosperity it rivalled Bombay, when Bombay

* It might be curious to note the names of the five vessels which thus first sailed for India. They were the *Scourge*, the *Susan*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and a pinnace.

† Tavernier, born at Paris 1605, and died at Moscow, 1689. He travelled through Persia and Turkey and India six times. His large fortune, with which he purchased the barony of Aubonnee, was acquired in the east.

‡ Calcutta Review, vol. ix., p. 106.

had not yet attained to its political or maritime importance. Its streets, like the streets of Grand Cairo or of Alexandria, were lined with oriental shops. Picturesque and curiously dressed groups of natives, from different parts of India, might be seen walking or crowding its thoroughfares. Turks and Arabians, Armenians and Parsees, the newly tained and half-disciplined native soldiers, groups of British soldiers off duty, oriental women shrouded in a mass of drapery or conveyed in covered carriages, the oriental costume of the armed Mahratta Chiefs and their followers, lent an interest to the general appearance of the town of Surat.* At present, the commerce of Surat is confined to the export of cotton and of grain. European capitalists and merchants prefer the greater advantages of Bombay as a trading port.

The Civil Collectorate is not so large as those of some of the neighbouring stations. The large and picturesque burial-ground attached to the Old Church of the station, lined with funereal trees, and full of monumental tablets, or old and worn, or ruinous tomb stones, indicated the last resting places of successive generations of the servants sent out by the East India Company to administer its affairs in the provinces adjoining the Taptee.†

In the year 1612, the English obtained a royal edict from Jehangir to establish a factory there. Forty-five years later, so greatly had the town increased in importance, that the East India Company ordered that the administration of all its possessions should then be placed under the direct control of the President and Council of Surat. The decree of the Emperor Jehangir offering protection to the factories, was received in 1613; and from that year must date the first permanent connexion of the British with India and the east.

The feeling of jealousy engendered by a concession of this nature on the part the Mogul Emperor, was not allowed to remain long dormant. Open hostilities were soon commenced. A Portuguese fleet burnt the town of Broach. Another, commanded by the Portuguese Viceroy in person, anchored off

* Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, I., 151.

† A curious illustration of the rapid growth of an Indian town might be found in the rise of Surat. In 1530, when the Portuguese had first captured the town, its population was estimated at 10,000 only. In 1838, that population had increased to 133,544.

Swally. The naval engagements which, however, followed, proved disastrous to the prestige which the Portuguese had already acquired; and the Mogul Court, without offering any interference, looked with pleasure on the checks thus given to an enemy whose encroachments and whose power they had alike learnt to view with anxiety, if not with dismay.

It was at this juncture that Sir Thomas Roe was deputed as ambassador to the Court of the Emperor Jehangir. At his Court he remained, four years, and the curious and interesting account left by him of the Court and Camp of the great Mogul, forms one of the most interesting accessions to works on oriental literature and oriental politics. During his residence in the east, he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts, among the most curious and most interesting of which must be classed the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament. Some of the more valuable of his collections may still be seen at the Bodleian Library. The Mogul Emperor received Sir Thomas Roe with as much consideration as it was in his nature to bestow on any ambassador, offered to redress some of the grievances complained of, and ratified a treaty by which he conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories and to trade with any part of the Mogul Empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

ART.—VII.—THE LABOUR DIFFICULTY IN BENGAL.

THE impediment to, we might almost say the annihilation of, material progress in Assam, owing to the difficulty in obtaining hired labour, is known to every one who has ever looked into a report on tea cultivation, public works, or surveys in that province. In many parts of it really voluntary labour is almost unknown; no amount of wages will induce a native of Assam to place his personal services at the disposal of another for hire; but it is far less known that a similar difficulty is threatening to extend rapidly over Bengal, that in many parts of the country, especially in the eastern districts, there are symptoms of the rapid absorption of the cooly classes, and the prospect is not so remote of the same problem being re-produced which has been and is so insoluble in Assam, viz., how to obtain a supply of labour at reasonable rates, and how to carry out many of the most necessary works if such labour be not forthcoming.

We have a firm conviction that this question will before long assume a prominence which is not fully realised by those who have not been brought face to face with the difficulty, and our object in the present paper is to draw general attention to the magnitude and importance of the danger which we believe to be impending. We are therefore glad to observe that it has attracted the notice of the Bengal Government, and that the following circular was issued in January last calling upon all the Commissioners to report upon the subject:—

“The Lieutenant-Governor has reason to believe, from numerous reports which reach him on the subject, that the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally in the Lower Provinces, is annually on the increase, and that in many places it is difficult to obtain any regular supply even at exorbitant rates.

“2. I am accordingly directed to request that, after communication with the local officers, you will be so good as to report upon this subject, with more especial reference to the following points:—

“(1) Whether there is any ground for supposing that of late years the rise in the price of bearers and coolies in your division has been out of proportion to the general enhance-

ment of prices, and of the value of agricultural labour in the districts of your division

“(2) Whether the difficulty in procuring carriage or coolies, even at an increased cost, is greater now than formerly

“(3) If so, to what causes the increase of price and the difficulty of procuring labour should be attributed.

“(4.) You should report on the possibility of remedying these evils if they exist in your division, and whether any more efficacious measures than those already in force can be suggested for organising on sound principles efficient services of bearers or coolies to meet the wants of travellers generally.”

We could have wished that the circular had been more entirely directed to the general labour question. The wording of it seems to show that the Government had more particularly in its mind the complaints of travellers and the extortionate prices of palkee-bearers, which is only a part of the much larger question. but still the enquiry extended to coolies of all kinds, and in their replies, which have been kindly placed at our service, some of the Commissioners show that they realise the vital importance of the subject on which they are reporting, and are aware that the difficulty is not confined to travelling only.

Before, however, proceeding to discuss these replies and the facts to which they testify, it is important to obtain a clear view of the abstract character of the question which is attaining such practical importance in Bengal—what is the precise meaning of the assertion that labour is getting disastrously scarce or dear, and that the prosperity of the country must be seriously endangered if it continues?

It is of course obvious enough that every community must not merely thrive, but even exist by the labour of its members, and this labour may practically be divided into two large classes:—

1st—Those who are engaged in educated and literate labour or in the administration and direction of labour, such as officials, professional men, supervisors, contractors, merchants, tradesmen.

2nd.—Those who are engaged in manual and illiterate labour, and who produce by the work of their bodies rather than of their head, though there must be, of course, a certain amount of intelligence even in the humblest occupations.

The latter class is again divisible into two large sections: those who employ their labour in their own service; and those who let it out to others for hire, and this last is the class

which we refer to when we speak of coolies ; we mean all those who are ready to employ their bodily labour on behalf of others for hire only, and without any other share in the produce of that labour.

Now, it is useless to deny that this class, which is the lowest generally in the social scale, is of very great importance to any community, above all to the Indian community, and specially with respect to such works as are for the public good. No road can be constructed without cooly labor, no tank dug, no pukka house built. Conservancy operations, drainage, &c, travelling, even funeral rites, are more or less dependent on this class. Agricultural labour is in India hardly to be ranked in the same class. In many cases men labour on land rented by themselves ; the external labour they require is either mutually lent from one to the other ; or when this is not done, the labourer is frequently paid by a share of the profits ; but with the sole exception of agriculture, all useful works undertaken by Government, all beneficial employment of capital in the interior, is mainly dependent upon the supply of hired labour. It follows, therefore, that the material prosperity of the country greatly depends on the abundance and the cheapness of this supply ; and when we speak of cheapness, it must be remembered that we use the term relatively. There is no particular reason why an agricultural labourer should receive more than a cooly ; it is desirable indeed that a cooly should be paid enough to support himself without degradation, but it is not desirable that that kind of labour which is most needed for the development of capital should be at a *higher* price than other manual and illiterate labour, and therefore that capital should be driven away from the country, and public works stunted by their enormous cost.

It is hardly too much to say, then, that a supply of labour at a moderate rate is a necessity of good government, if not of government at all, in any State that deserves the name. The fact that other Governments situated not unlike that of Bengal, such as the Governments of the Mauritius, of Demerara, establish expensive agencies in India to recruit labourers, shows this. Our own experience in Assam most abundantly shows it. Not only is the cost of all public works, as well as of such departments as the survey, enormously increased, but even at this increased cost operations are frequently at a standstill through want of labour.

In Bengal it is evident that it must be the ruin of the country if it goes on extending as it has done recently. We

lately saw an estimate for a school-house prepared in 1864, which, not having been built at the time, has had to be increased 25 per. cent., because the building is deferred to 1868. In some stations east of Calcutta, for example at Jessore, the cost of labour is so high that no one will build a house, though the station is terribly in need of them. Public works, communications, sanitary operations, in fact the most useful and necessary works of society, are coming to a stand-still on account of the scarcity and cost of labour. Moreover, the price of labour re-acts upon a number of other occupations, especially on the Police. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that not only the material progress, but even the material well-being of the country, must be ruined if labour is to become as it is in Assam.

Now, the important question for decision is whether this rapid increase in price and diminution in numbers in the supply of cooly labour is temporary and passing, and will tend to right itself; or whether it is due to causes which are permanent and durable. For this purpose we must go back again, first, to general principles, and then to their special application to Bengal. It is indispensable to a right view of the question to recognise the fact that in respect to the scarcity and price of labour, Bengal is only an exaggerated instance of what is going on all over the world in all countries where the system of free competition is fully in force. It must be remembered that till very recently there were many artificial or natural checks on this system in England. The scanty extension of education rendered the professions and educated employments the province of a very limited number of persons; national trades were protected, agriculture especially so; the navy was filled by means of the press-gang, and not by the natural principle of supply and demand; emigration from Ireland had hardly commenced, and the then redundant Irish population, impoverished by circumstances and policy, afforded a ready supply for the army at a low price. It is only, therefore, for forty or fifty years that the system of free competition has been in full unchecked swing in England, while in all other European countries the conscription for the army, which annually draws off a large portion of the population, and compels them to serve for next to nothing, necessarily affects the price of labour, and perpetuates the existence of a large class who are accustomed to turn their hand to anything and lend their labour to others without enforcing the market price which such real labour could

command We do not mean to say that a conscription and a large army are beneficial to the prosperity of a country—quite the contrary—but merely that the existence of a large army recruited by compulsion and paid a bare subsistence allowance, and then after a certain number of years thrown back upon their own resources, necessarily unsettles the natural operation of the laws of competition, and prevents their having their full effect.

It is therefore evident that the natural tendencies of free competition should only recently have fully manifested themselves; and the effects are not difficult to trace. The result of free competition is to enable every one to dispose of his labour in whatever manner he pleases, and therefore to cause the remuneration of every class of labour to vary according to (a) the expense and rareness of the preparatory education or training requisite to qualify a person for that occupation; and (b) the pleasantness of the occupation, including the honour and esteem in which it is held. Now, manual labour for wages, under the control of another person, is generally regarded as less pleasant and dignified than manual labour on one's own account (especially in India), and manual labour of every kind is less estimable, and generally thought less pleasant, than intellectual labour, or labour in a position of control and responsibility. Hence, though the quality and expensiveness of the education and training which this latter kind of labour requires, as compared with the far less expense which it takes to produce a qualified manual labourer, will still tend to keep the remuneration of intellectual labour above that of manual or mechanical, yet this tendency will be partly counteracted by the superior attractions of this kind of work, and that the more and more as the general spread of education places the opportunity of a career of educated labour within the reach of a greater number. The result is that in England menial service has long been at a high price for males who have so many other careers open to them. The esteem and honour in which the clerical profession has been held, and the aversion to menial labour, has long led to the result that a curate, after having gone through all the expenses of a public school and university education, can scarcely command a higher remuneration, board and lodging being taken into account, than a footman, still less than a butler; and the same enhancement in the cost of manual labour is increasing rapidly in other quarters more rapidly than many persons are aware of. Redundant population and the extreme poverty of many persons keep down, and probably will keep down, the price of

the most inferior kinds of occupation, *viz.* those which require no preparatory training at all, for labour of this kind, where any person who has the use of his hands can engage in the competition, is so keen that the price cannot rise very much; but when we rise a degree higher, and compare labour which requires a more intellectual and mental training, and where the work is sedentary, with labour which requires a more physical and bodily training, the work of which requires manual exertion, we find at once that the tendency is to prefer the former, and consequently to lower and degrade the remuneration which it can command, while those who take to the latter are able to stand out for almost fabulous wages. An extract from the *Fortnightly Review* for January last is very much to the point as illustrating this.—

“ On the other hand, with what almost angry surprise some of us during the iron-master’s lock-out of 1865 heard for the first time of the wages which some descriptions of iron-workers get! How, we exclaimed on being told of shinglers with nearly five pounds, and of plate rollers and rail-rollers with as much as five, seven, even ten guineas a week,—say from nearly three hundred to between six and seven hundred pounds a year? What business have mere mechanics—fellows with grimed faces and grubby hands—with rates of pay so ill-accordant with the station of life to which it hath pleased God to call them? Why, as a Quarterly Reviewer piteously puts it, Lieutenant-Colonels in Her Majesty’s Foot Guards have less than the highest of these rates, and passing rich among parsons are those whose tithe commutation comes up to the lowest.

* * * *

“ For now we come to think of it what solitary reason, based on natural fitness, can be assigned why there should be any difference in the pay of manual and intellectual labour, yes even of the meanest manual and of the noblest intellectual? * * * Not surely that a hard day’s work costs less of exertion to a hand-worker than to a head-worker? The lawyer or accountant who may fancy that it does, had better take a turn at the plough or the forge, and see whether, by the end of the day, he will not be quite as much done up as if he had passed the whole of it in court or in the counting-house. Is it then because head-work demands for its performance higher faculties than hand-work? He is but a shallow pretender to these higher faculties who does not feel that their very exercise

“ is, in itself, a privilege carrying with it its own abundant and
 “ appropriate reward, and as for those who, knowing this,
 “ nevertheless fancy that because they get the pick of the
 “ work, therefore they are entitled to extra pay, may they
 “ not be fairly likened to these Turkish janissaries who, after
 “ eating a peasant out of house and home, used to exact addi-
 “ tional piastres for wear and tear of their teeth during the
 “ process? * * *

“ There is, in short, only a single, though at the same time
 “ an all-sufficient reason why professional or literate labour is
 “ generally entitled to larger remuneration than manual or
 “ illiterate, and that is, that owing to various circumstances,
 “ among which the special education it requires is but one, it
 “ can generally command a better price. It is generally enti-
 “ tled to more, because circumstances generally enable it to get
 “ more. But if circumstances should be so changed as to admit
 “ of manual labour getting as much or more than professional
 “ labour, manual labour would clearly become similarly enti-
 “ tled.”

This extract clearly shows that in England the remuneration of manual and illiterate labour is beginning to out run that of intellectual and literate; it dwells but little on the circumstances which have hitherto made it the opposite, but the principal among them obviously were the cost of the special education, and the limited number of persons who could undergo that cost, and therefore the limited supply of persons qualified for such labour. The large share which Government is now bearing in the expense of education is decreasing the cost to the individual, and setting all individuals in a position of greater equality; the increase of wealth is also independently operating to enable more persons to offer themselves as candidates for intellectual and literate occupation, and as such occupations are regarded as more pleasurable and more honorable than illiterate and manual occupations, the natural result is that the price which the latter can command is increasing, while the former is deteriorating.

Now, we quite admit, as the reviewer urges, that there is nothing in the nature of things to entitle intellectual labour to higher remuneration than manual, but there is something in the constitution of society which renders it exceedingly desirable that the former should *succeed in obtaining* this higher remuneration. The wealthier members of the community must always exercise the larger share of influence, direct or indirect :

tastes, fashions, public amusements, and public opinion, are all affected far more by the wealthier than by the more indigent classes. If the family of the clergyman, the doctor, the lawyer, and the Government officer can only manage to obtain food and necessary clothing, and the labouring class can afford to take in the daily papers, patronise the shops and libraries, and fill the theatres and clubs, it must follow that society will take its tone from them, and not from the classes engaged in intellectual occupations. The result will be that the less qualified and less refined classes will rule the more qualified and more refined as far as occupations are concerned, and the body politic will be in the position of a man whose appetites have acquired the control over his intellect. A young country like America, with still inexhaustible territories, with no old traditions of class counties to weight it, cannot be a complete specimen of the effects of this tendency, but still it affords some illustration of it, and bad as politics are becoming in England, our House of Commons has not yet been reduced to the level of the House of Representatives, nor our officials to the placemen (carpet-baggers, as the new word is) of Washington.

But it is not our object to show that the great rise in the price of manual and mechanical labour is threatening the prosperity or good government of England or any other western country. Whatever the effects of this revolution may be there, labour will never be wanting, and competition will keep it at a workable limit, even if it does lead or has led to a transfer of power and influence. But will it do so in Bengal? Can we rely on a redundant population to force certain persons to have recourse to cooly labour, and will the want of any training compel such a competition as will keep its price down to a reasonable figure?

There are certain elements in Bengal which it is essentially necessary to recollect when we compare our labour prospects with those of western countries:—(1) agricultural labour is looked upon as more honourable and desirable than ordinary cooly labour, especially agricultural labour on a man's own land or on that of a neighbour by way of mutual assistance; (2) Bengal is in general so fertile that it produces more than enough to support its population, whereas not more than two-thirds of the food required for England is produced in that country. If the population of England has now from other causes risen to such a level that one-third of its food must be imported from other countries, a large amount of non-agricultural work must be done in order to provide that wherewith to induce other

countries to part with their surplus food. Non-agricultural labour is therefore a necessity in England if its population keep up to the present level, but no such necessity exists in Bengal. In a climate like this most of the absolute wants of the population can be supplied for the produce of the soil. What few wants there are over and above this can be procured by exporting the surplus produce. Even therefore if we had not the living illustration of Assam before our eyes, we ought to have no difficulty in perceiving that the natural laws of supply and demand do not supply any necessary corrective to the difficulty which we have to face. There is nothing to prevent the lower classes from devoting themselves exclusively to agriculture, and refusing, except at a totally prohibitory price, to turn their hand to any kind of labour, except building their own mud huts. A few of the national trades, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, &c., would retain their vitality; but roads, bridges, embankments, good tanks, pukka houses, might one by one disappear, unless Government undertook the task of keeping them up by paying fabulous prices for the necessary labour. and even then in a country like India, where mere competition is so absolutely powerless in the face of custom and habit, it is quite conceivable that the cooly class having once disappeared, even a fabulous price would scarcely tempt a man, who looked upon himself as above a cooly, to undertake a cooly's work.

Including what we have just referred to, it appears to us that the following causes are at work, in the Lower Provinces especially, to diminish the supply and enhance the price of cooly labour.

I. The kind of labour which is regarded as the least honourable and estimable.

II. The natural effeminacy and inactivity of the people, which leads them to abhor manual and physical labour as much as possible, and to aim at sedentary and mental occupations, even more than in colder countries. From both of these reasons it follows that few men by choice will have recourse to the former occupations unless stimulated by far higher wages than any other occupations can procure for them.

III. The fertility of the soil and a not-superabundant population.

If to this is added that the crop is obtained with comparatively very little personal labour, it follows that the aversion to cooly labour, which is more severe, will be increased.

IV The classes which at present afford a supply of coolies necessarily and naturally tend to decrease, while they receive no corresponding accession from, other classes. There is nothing to prevent a cooly saving from his comparatively large earnings, and buying or renting land and thereby becoming independent in the next generation; there is nothing to prevent his or his children's rising in any other manner, but it is disgraceful and degrading for any high caste man, or even a man of any occupation above that of a cooly, to become a cooly, and hence such persons will endure almost any amount of misery and want rather than do so.

V. The spread of education Any person who has even the smallest education, regards himself as entitled to some intellectual and literate employment, however long his parents may have been labourers. The well-known case of Dr Anderson and the children of the mallees of the Botanical Gardens fully illustrates this. Education is still so very sparsely spread among the bulk of the population, that we do not think that it has much effect at present on the supply of cooly labour, though it will have hereafter, if it progresses much on its present system. At present the connection between education and cooly labour is rather this, that common causes, *viz*, effeminacy, shrinking from physical, and aiming at intellectual and sedentary employment tend to improve the prospects of education and to eliminate the class of cooly labourers. Hence the progress of education is a very good *index* of the destruction of the class of coolies, though these are not cause and effect at present, but proceed only from common causes.

Let us then now apply these causes to the reports before us. We propose to confine ourself to the Regulation Divisions, because in Assam, as is well known, there never has been any cooly labour to speak of during the present century, at least *voluntary* cooly labour, while in Chota Nagpore on the contrary the physique of the people is quite different, the soil is comparatively barren, the people are not Hindoos, and cooly labour never has been scarce, nor is anything, unless it be emigration, likely to make it so. The remaining Non-Regulation Division, Cooch Behar, is too *nondescript*, including as it does such dissimilar districts as Gawalparah and Darjeeling, to present any uniform result.

Turning, then, to the eight Regulation Divisions, it is easy to see where the costliness or scarcity (for they arise from the same cause) of cooly labour, ought to be most apparent. In Behar

as in Chota Nagpore the population is far more masculine than in Bengal, and the climate less enervating. Agriculture is in less exclusive favour, and people follow their old occupations undisturbed by the influence of European nations far more than in the Bengal Districts. The educational 'index' also points in the same direction. The progress made by the grant-in-aid system is almost *nil* in Behar, and English schools few and far between. The very same remarks apply with more or less precision to Orissa. The men are certainly more robust than in Bengal, and the climate less enervating. The progress of Anglicism, if we may use the word, is slow, and education of the modern type backward. Raj-haye is the only division the report from which does not entirely tally with our anticipations. We should have expected to find that the enervating character of the climate and the fertility of the soil had already produced the effect of enhancing the price of coolies, though schools and western ideas have not made much progress in that quarter. The Burdwan Division consists of two very different kinds of soil and climate. The western portion, in which are located the stations of Sooree, Rancegunge, Bancoorah, and Midnapore, is sterile and stony, the climate hot and dry as in Behar, and the people comparatively active. The eastern portion however, especially the Districts of Hooghly, Howrah, and part of Midnapore, is composed of the alluvial valley of Bengal: the soil is fertile, the climate, enervating and damp: the contrast between the educational progress in these two sections of the division is also very marked.

The Presidency and Dacca Divisions almost and the whole of the Chittagong Division contain all the causes which we have enumerated as tending to destroy the supply of coolies. An agriculturist is regarded as above a cooly, the climate is enervating, and the people effeminate and averse to physical exertion. The soil is very fertile; the produce is more than sufficient for the food of the inhabitants; and conversely education has here reached its highest development, and English schools are planted thick all over the country.

With these preparatory remarks we come to the reports before us. It will be remembered that the enquiry of Government was directed to ascertain whether certain classes of labour had increased in costliness *out of proportion* to the general increase in price. This distinction was an obviously correct one, since the value of money may alter, and 4 annas in 1868 be the real equivalent of 2 annas in 1848. If, however, the rise be

out of proportion, then it would necessarily be due to other causes.

The Commissioner of Patna writes :—

"2. With reference to the first point on which information is called for, all the district officers, except the Magistrate of Sarun, are of opinion that there does not exist any ground for supposing that the rise in price of bearers and coolies has been out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices and of the value of agricultural labour. The Magistrate of Sarun observes that during the last four years the rise in the rate of hire of coolies and bearers has increased with the dearth of articles of food. This rise has remained stationary in spite of the fall in prices that has since taken place. He does not consider, however, that Government interference is in any way necessary to regulate the cost of labour, which after all is not so great as to be a general cause of complaint.

"3 With regard to the second point, the majority of the district officers state the difficulty of procuring bearers and coolies in their district is not greater now than formerly. In Shahabad and Gaya, on the other hand, it is admitted that palkee-bearers and coolies are somewhat more scarce. This is accounted for on the following grounds :—

"The opening of the Railway has in a great measure superseded the necessity of palkee dāk traffic through both districts, the demand, therefore, for bearers has decreased. Hence the bearers, finding little or no employment, have either taken to agriculture or have left for other districts where palkee travelling is still resorted to. The Railway affords employment to a large body of coolies, and the number available for the public generally has therefore somewhat diminished.

"4 None of the Magistrates consider the difficulty of obtaining bearers and coolies so great as to call for the adoption of any special measures."

The Commissioner of Bhaugulpore writes much to the same effect. He says :—

"In reply to your letter No 178 of the 10th January last, I beg to inform you that from the reports received from local officers, it appears that the rate of hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, &c, has increased of late years, but not out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices and the value of agricultural labour.

"2 Indeed, as regards palkee-bearers, the rise seems scarcely in keeping with them. It is also to be observed that

“ the increase in rate of hire varies very much. Everywhere
 “ near the Railway and through the Deoghur District, where
 “ the Chord line is under construction, the rise is greater than in
 “ the extreme south and in the northern parts of Monghyr
 “ and Bhagulpore or in Purneah. As instances of the rate
 “ of rise, I would mention that nineteen years ago I paid for
 “ carts to accompany me in this district on my cold weather
 “ tours as Superintendent of Survey, Rupees 8 a month. They
 “ can now be had for 10. From Rajmehal to Maddah (24 miles)
 “ a palkee-bearer used to get 15 annas, whereas now he gets
 “ 1-4. The price of cooly labour has, however, increased more.

“ 3. I do not think there is generally any greater difficulty
 “ in procuring labour now than formerly if the enhanced price
 “ be given. But for some kinds of work the indigenous labour,
 “ though apparently the cheapest, is the least suited, and ultimately the dearest. Outside labour is therefore employed at
 “ rates which of course appear high even in comparison with
 “ the increase of prices. Thus on the Chord line, in connection
 “ with the sinking of wells for bridges, a number of Chittagong
 “ lascars are employed, while for the earthwork on the embank-
 “ ments three out of four of the men and women come from
 “ Gya, Arrah, Goruckpore, and even further north.” * * *

The Commissioner of Cuttack also writes in a hopeful strain, and “ does not apprehend any serious difficulties —

“ In reply to your No. 178, dated 10th January 1868, I do
 “ not consider that the rise in prices paid to bearers and coolies
 “ in this division has been out of proportion to the general
 “ enhancement of prices and of the value of agricultural labour.
 “ This opinion is shared by all District Collectors. I should,
 “ however, observe that the value of agricultural labour is not
 “ fully represented by the actual money-payments of wages.
 “ It is customary for agricultural labourers to receive allowances
 “ of grain and food from their employers, sometimes in lieu of,
 “ and sometimes in addition to, money wages.

“ 2. There has occasionally been difficulty in procuring dāk-
 “ bearers and banghi-burdars. This was much felt during the
 “ famine, and was due partly to great mortality among the
 “ labouring classes and partly to their reduced condition render-
 “ ing them unable or averse to undertake hard work. This has
 “ been partly remedied by return of plenty and cheaper food,
 “ and also by the raising of the rates of hire of palkee-bearers
 “ from 4 to 5 annas per stage. The difficulty is gradually
 “ being removed, and, except at one or two stages where there

are no resident bearers, and men have to be sent for from long distances, requiring timely notice, no difficulty occurs.

“ 3 There is a very great demand for carriage and also for labour by the Public Works Department and by the Irrigation Company, and the natural effect of this demand has been a slight increase in the general rates of hire. This is a proper and legitimate result which cannot and should not be interfered with. Labourers can dispose of their services in the best market. For carts and bullocks there is a similar demand, and a consequent somewhat higher rate paid. I believe the Irrigation Company are willing to employ every available man or woman who will work, but even with this demand I have heard no complaints by private parties of excessive difficulty in procuring either labour or carriage * * *

“ 5 There is a stereotyped idea very current among travellers, and particularly among Europeans, that the hire of a gharry or of a cooly should be 8 annas or 4 annas a day on stage, and that any charge over and above this or some other imaginary and arbitrary rate, is an imposition. There is also a disposition to grumble or to drive hard bargains, and not to treat the bearers or carters with due consideration, which often leads to their preferring to work for native contractors or mahajins at less wages than they will willingly take from travellers, and hence probably arises much of the difficulty complained of.

“ 6. As traffic and travelling increase and extend, and the demand for carriage increases, roads are being opened out all over the country, and where these roads are metalled and completed, wheeled conveyances will gradually come more into use, though in the interior travellers may suffer some inconvenience and increased expenses. I think the difficulty will gradually work its own cure without the interposition of Government, which can only be exercised on sound principles by establishing and maintaining regular relays of bearers and coolies, and charging the extra cost to travellers for whose convenience they are kept up. So far the supply of bearers, coolies, and carriage in Cuttack Division, is not so deficient as to warrant any extraordinary resources. The existing Bâk Rules are generally sufficient for all purposes.”

Thus far the reports entirely corroborate our anticipations *a priori*. There is a decided rise in price, but perhaps not out of proportion; there are here and there indications of uneasiness, prices rise easily, but do not easily fall again, and the coolies

seem to have the best of the struggle between wages and capital, but there are supposed to be no grounds for serious apprehension.

The Commissioner of Rajshahiye reports very briefly, and, as we have already said, does not confirm entirely our anticipations. The following extract contains all that bears closely upon our enquiry :—

“ In reply to your No. 178 of 10th January last, I have the honor to state that after consultation with the district officers, I am of opinion that in this division the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally, is not annually on the increase.

“ That the rate of hire has increased of late years, there can be no doubt ; but I do not think the increase has been out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices or the value of agricultural labour.

“ I do not think that there is any greater difficulty in procuring carriage or coolies now than formerly, provided they are paid a fair rate of wages ; consequently the third point mooted in your letter requires no answer ” * * *

It will be seen, however, that the Commissioner admits that the rise in the price of cooly labour has been unquestionable, and with due deference to his better opportunities of judging, we cannot but think that he is mistaken when he declares that it is *not* out of proportion to the general rise of prices. Prices of grain rose very much about the years 1860 and 1861, but it must not be forgotten that they declined again afterwards, and we believe that if there is a similar crop in 1869, over the whole country, as there was (say) in 1859, the price of it will not be much higher than it was in that year.

The Commissioner of Burdwan reports as follows :—

“ In compliance with the orders of Government, contained in your letter No. 178, dated the 10th January last, I have the honor to report that in the Districts of Bancoorah, Beerbhoom, and Midnapore, there is not any reason for supposing that the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriages, has increased out of proportion to the general rise of prices and the value of agricultural labour, or that there is any great difficulty in procuring them.

“ 2. Contrasted to these are the Districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and Howrah, in which the hire of bearers, &c., especially coolies, in the last named district, has increased more or less disproportionately, and the difficulties of procuring them

" even at increased rates are said to be likewise greater than formerly."

" 3 The cause is attributable to the Railway, the Docking Company in Howrah, employment in Calcutta, and emigration to the tea districts drawing them off."

" 4 The evil is not one which can last *long*; concurrently with it is already to be seen a marked increase of mobility on the part of the general population. If a remedy, however, is urgently wanted, I think the best form it could take would be that of paying a part of the wages of the labourer to his family at home. The family do not at present benefit much by the high wages, because the temptations of Calcutta and the Railway consume the money. I believe the coolies do honestly intend to save money in Calcutta, but cannot resist the temptations around them. The family is disappointed and starved, and set their face against any second proposal to leave them." * * * * *

We cannot refrain from pointing out that this report, weak and impotent as its conclusions are, is a very remarkable confirmation of the theories we have been urging. It affords a crucial test of those principles, since the districts which are contrasted with each other are adjacent and in the same division, and at the same time differ so completely in soil and climate.

The very districts in which the soil is laterite, and the climate comparatively dry, are those where no difficulty occurs; while those in which the soil is alluvial, and the climate damp and enervating, are those where increased prices and increased difficulty are more or less observable. Moreover, Mr Hirschell's testimony is of the more value, because he does not share those theories which his facts prove.

He regards the difficulty as temporary, and attributes it to the Railway, the Docking Company at Howrah, employment in Calcutta, and emigration to the tea districts.

The Railway no doubt increases the *price of coolies*, but its tendency is rather to facilitate than render more difficult the obtaining of them. The effect of Calcutta is the same. The *steady permanent* demand of Calcutta and the large public works in its neighbourhood, and the large remuneration which coolies can obtain, attract numbers from all parts of the country, and thereby create a cooly population, which prevents any great difficulty in obtaining labour, though it must be paid for at very high rates in those localities. But these coolies, as then very language conclusively shows, do not come in any sensible

proportion from the Hooghly, Howrah, and Burdwan Districts, they come almost entirely from Orissa, Behar, and Up-country. As to emigration, surely Mr. Henschell knows that recruiting is active in those very portions of his division where he reports 'no difficulty,' viz. Bancoorah, Rangeegunge, and Beerbhoom, while the cooly contractors would soon die of starvation if they had to support themselves from the number of 'coolies' they can obtain in the other districts, which he considers affected by the emigration. Evidently the causes he gives only partly account for the high price, and in no way for the scarcity of labourers other than agricultural; and his testimony to the fact of their existence in the districts where they ought to be looked for, and of their absence from the districts where the causes which we are insisting upon are absent, is most unimpeachable.

Mr. Chapman's report as to the state of the Presidency Division sufficiently supports our view, though he unfortunately shares in adopting what has been called the *laissez faire* principle in dealing with this difficulty, and deludes himself into thinking that time will rectify, instead of, as is really the case, intensify the difficulty. He writes:—

"In reply to Government order No. 178, dated 10th January 1868, I have the honor to report as follows the opinions of the officers of this division:—

'2. *First*.—The price of bearers and coolies has risen largely of late years, but not more largely than agricultural labour, and not, except as to palkee-bearers in some parts, out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices.

"3. *Second*.—The difficulty of procuring coolies and bearers has probably increased, but not, I think, the difficulty of procuring carts.

"4. *Third*.—There being no disproportionate increase in the price of labourers, I need not account for such increase as there is. As to the difficulty of procuring labourers, especially as to the difficulty of procuring bearers, several plausible causes are alleged as follows. —

"(1.) The profits of agricultural labour have largely increased so as to attract all classes.

"(2.) The demand for labour for Railways, and such like, has been of late very large.

"(3.) The introduction of Railways and of wheeled carriages has diminished the demand for palkee-bearers, and made the trade inconstant and precarious, such labour, unless it be constant, is peculiarly severe and distressing.

“ 5 Fourth.—All the officers of the division earnestly deprecate any interference of Government in the matter, and I entirely concur with them that it is uncalled for and impracticable. Such interference could be effectual only in one of two ways. either we must revert to a system of forced labour for the convenience of travellers, a system much belauded by some gentlemen (if applied to any one but themselves), but which I need not seriously discuss, or we must at the public expense keep up relays of bearer for the use of travellers.” * * *

It will be seen that Mr. Chapman's attention is too much directed to the question of palkee-bearers alone, but he afterwards forwarded some extracts from a report by the able District Officer of Jessore whose erroneous views about leaving time to work out a cure we can forgive, in gratitude for his admirable review of the question.

The extracts given by the Commissioner are as follows. We take the liberty of italicising certain passages

“ Para 30½.—While on my tour, I made various attempts to procure statistics as to the state of the labour market in the district, but I never could procure figures, and the result which I procured consisted of simple statements, which I believe on the whole to be correct, but which, although I have tested them by information derived from all parts of the district, I cannot represent in figures

“ 31 The classes who used to labour, and who still do labour, are the Kyburtaa, Bagdis, Gwalas, Moochees, Chundals, Kapali, and Boonas amongst the Hindoos, and Mussulmans of all sects. It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of Mussulman to Hindoo labourers, it varies in different parts, being in some parts two-thirds, in others one-third, one-fourth, and much lower. The principal Mussulman parts of the district are in the south of the Sudder Sub-Division, Bagerhat generally, some parts of Jhenida, and the middle of Magoorah. Narrail again and all down the Bhyrub is strongly Hindoo.

“ 32. The wages of coolies, mistries, bricklayers, ghurames &c., have nearly doubled within the last twenty years, *and even at the high rate now prevailing, great difficulty is experienced in procuring labour*

“ 33. The reason of this lies in many circumstances as stated by the people amongst whom enquiries have been made

“ 34. Different opinions are entertained as to whether the number of labourers has actually decreased, *i. e.*, whether the

men are not in existence, or whether the number has been decreased only relatively, i. e., whether the men are there but not available.

" 35 I have no doubt that the latter opinion is correct, and that the numbers of labourers are there but not available, because the men find employment elsewhere and in other pursuits.

" 36 There can be no doubt that the extension of railways, of roads, and public works, has a two-fold effect on the labour market. It not only attracts local labour from the district while the roads are in progress, but it removes it afterwards by increasing facilities to the labourer to leave his district. In all districts which lie near to the rail and to Calcutta, this two-fold effect must be particularly felt. And it has been so felt in this district in all parts, and specially in the northern portion of the district to which the Railway is most adjacent.

" 37. It will be noted that in former times not only was the labour to a great extent localized, but it was to a very considerable extent forced, or *begari*. I have no doubt, and I have taken pains to enquire into this, that this *begari* system has become almost entirely extinct, and the facilities given by the improvement of communications has undoubtedly, along with, of course, improved judicial and criminal executive administration, a good deal to do with this. Whatever be the real cause, labour has ceased to be, as it necessarily was before, localized, and facilities of transfer of labour have undoubtedly caused a diminution of the local supply.

" 38. *The chief cause of the diminution*, however, has been the growing prosperity of the agriculturalist class, the rise in the price of food of all kinds having largely benefited the producing class.

" 39 *I never heard of any instances in which cultivators become coolies or day-labourers*, except under very exceptional circumstances, such as after the cyclone, when labour was at a very unusual premium. *Very many instances might be given of day-labourers becoming cultivators and owning lands*; in fact, this is the ambition of the cooly, and many of their number realize their aim. A labourer who has been prosperous generally begins by building one or two additional huts till he reaches the conventional four *ghors* in his barge. He then cultivates the little patch which he holds as *libita jumma*, hiring himself out to till other fields when sowing is going on, and doing a little in the way of *ghuramies'* work when no cultivation is going on. If he still is prosperous, he takes a small *jumma*, and

gradually drops the daily labour, rising from being a muzdooi to be a grilast (and there can be little doubt that these are the men who in time will be the *bhodro lok*).

"40 I can point to two instances of classes of daily labourers who have thus raised themselves to the rank of cultivators, viz., the Boona coolies attached to factories, and the ryots of holdings in the Soonderbunds.

"41 When the indigo factories which employed the Boona coolies were shut up, some of these Boonas went off to other districts, some still continued their occupation as labourers, but many of them have stuck to the vicinity of the factories, and have taken lands, and now are as independent cultivators as most of the Jessore ryots—and very good cultivators they make. They are orderly, quiet, and hard-working. A good deal of their tillage work is done by fits and starts, as is their nature, but when they don't work themselves, their women are available for work, and they can work as well as the men.

"42 The men who went down to the Soonderbunds to cut wood and clear jungle, getting 4 and 5 Rupees a month, are now all cultivators in the plots which they have cleared for holders of grants, very well off, and on the whole industrious.

"43 I cannot say that the labouring class have profited by the increase of their profits to accumulate money *so long as they remain as labourers, simply because no labourer who has accumulated any money remains a labourer*, but promotes himself *suo motu* into the agricultural class. But even while a labourer, he feeds better, he builds himself a better hut or house, he gives his wife and children ornaments, he is more irregular in his time of labour, he takes more holidays: all show signs of no inconsiderable prosperity in his condition as a labouring man.

"44 The upper classes regard the advancement of these *chota lok* with peculiar jealousy, *and there can be no doubt, I think, that the labour question in districts near the rail and Calcutta will soon assume serious proportions*. It is impossible to suggest any plan, so far as I see, by which the difficulty can be met. The demand should create a supply, and the increased prosperity of the agricultural classes will enable them to meet the difficulty well. As for the *bhodro lok*, who consider themselves created simply to read, write, and do little or nothing to earn their livelihood, they must give up their apathy and take to other means and trades to enrich themselves to meet the demands on their pockets, otherwise they will find the success-

ful cooly beat them in the rice, as ought indeed to be the case.

Mr. Momo after all does not seem very hopeful of the evil working out its own cure. He says the demand *ought* to create a supply, but does not seem very confident that it will do so. The succeeding reports show conclusively that it is not necessary for a district to be near the rail or near Calcutta to involve it in the cooly difficulty.

The Commissioner of Dacca, Mr. Simson, writes —

"I have the honor to inform you that I have collected the opinions of my district officers relative to the subjects referred to in your letter No 178 of the 10th of January. *There is a complete unanimity in the returns*, and my opinion is in full accord with that of the district officers. I will first answer the questions, and then detail the reasons for the changes noticed.

"2 The rise in price of coolies and bearers in this division *has been far beyond proportion to the general enhancement of prices and value of agricultural labour.*

"3 The difficulty of procuring carriage is less than formerly, *that of procuring coolies much greater.*

"4. I must first state that it was always difficult to procure palkee-bearers all over the division; *it is now almost impossible*; in fact, palkee travelling, except among the Police, is almost now unknown. Women are carried about in doohies, and always will be; the dooly service is quite distinct and separate from that known as palkee travelling. In this division travelling is, with the exception of steam services, carried on by boats, and the disappearance of palkee-bearers is not of serious importance.

"5 But if by coolies is understood persons who perform all kinds of labour and carry goods from place to place, and work for landholders, either as cultivators of land by the piece or by the hour, or as persons to perform casual agricultural services, for instance beating indigo vats, picking tea leaves, removing hemp fibre, cutting thatching grass, building cutcha houses, digging tanks, making bricks, if the word coolies is to be understood as referring to persons who perform work like the above, *then indeed prices have greatly increased, the price offered has not brought the required supply of labourers, and it will not, and not even if it should be raised ten times.*" (We hope Mr. Chapman and Mr. Momo will read this and profit by it.)

"6. The people of these districts *will only labour at unpleasant work for others when very poor indeed*. As soon as they pass the stage of poverty, and can find any work for themselves of which they may themselves receive the profits, they will work no more for others, they will undertake no work for contract or hire.

"The status of those persons who used to work as coolies has altered; the poorest classes are much better off, the men who used to be eager for daily work of any kind now decline to do anything of this sort, they have their own little area under cultivation, and most of the families possess the luxury of a gun.

"8. The reasons are that the influx of European capital into Bengal and the opening out of the country by railways and steamers have enabled cultivators to dispose of agricultural produce at distant marts and at prices very greatly above former rates.

"9. The price of labour has been greatly raised by the Railway, which employs any number, not only of men, but of women and boys. These persons receive pay according to the work they do. A man with several able-bodied wives, who can work them well, soon saves money, and *can obtain a piece of land and become independent*.

"10. When the famine raged in Orissa, crops in this division were splendid, to increased returns of produce highly raised prices gave the cultivators of the land most unexpected profits.

"11. Act X. of 1859 has protected the tenants from the landlords, and bettered the condition of the ryots. Persons who were coolies were also ryots to a small extent, they are no longer coolies; such persons now are not obliged by poverty to labour for others, they can support themselves from the lands they till.

"12. No amount of wages will induce these men now to beat indigo vats or cultivate tea gardens; *both indigo making and tea gardening must be supported by imported labour, or they will disappear, even in the face of a redundant population with any amount of spare time on its hands*.

"13. Carriage has increased; carts, carriages, and boats, have multiplied; ponies are very much more used, but the owners work for themselves; the price of hire has increased, and the more work an owner can get for his ticca gharry or for his bullock-cart, the better. He does not usually hire by the month, but takes advantage of every opportunity, and tries to obtain as many jobs in the day as he can.

" 14 As far as travellers are concerned in this division, they require little else except boats and boatmen ; these are procurable at any rate in as great numbers as before, and all that is required is good payment.

" 15 With reference to coolies for land carriage, where carts are not procurable, and where neither roads nor carts exist, *the difficulty cannot be exaggerated, labour cannot be obtained except by compulsion.* Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, thinks that when colonies of villagers are established for the clearance of the forest tracts, the supply of coolies at reasonable rates should be made a condition of settlement. *The idea is quite practicable, and would of course answer ; but I fear the Government will regard the proposal as at variance with the principles of Political Economy, and as an interference with the liberty of the subject.*

" 16 *Formerly Sylhet, which was regarded as a very poor district, used to supply large bodies of labourers at reasonable rates ; they are unprocurable now* Sylhet is no longer poverty-stricken. The bodies of men who used to work at indigo and at rice-cutting in Dacca and Mymensing at Rupees 2 per mensem and their food, are not procurable. offers of Rupees 6 per month failed to attract them in 1867.

" 17. I am not justified in looking at this state of things as an evil. It shows that the general prosperity of the poor of the country has increased ; the fact that this prosperity is accompanied with difficulty and expense to Europeans seeking to make their fortunes out of this country is not to be regarded as paramount to the general advantage. The natives of this country have nothing to complain of "

Sylhet, at any rate, is far enough from the Railway. But let us now come to the last report we have to consider, that of the Commissioner of Chittagong. He does not enter much into causes, but in his appreciation of the impending difficulty he shows more discernment than any other Commissioner. We wish our space permitted us to give his report in full, but it is lengthy, and we must confine ourselves to extracts. Lord Ulck Browne writes :—

" I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Government orders No. 178, dated the 10th January last, calling for a report on the possibility of remedying the evils occasioned by the annually increasing difficulty in obtaining a supply of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally, and by the great increase in the rates of hire demanded, if such evils exist in this division.

" 2. With regard to the first point, there is *no doubt that the rise in the price of bearers, coolies, &c., is out of all proportion* to the general enhancement of prices and to the value of agricultural labour in this division. On this point Mr. Irvin observes that the rates for coolies have increased in Tipperah about 80 per cent. in the last ten years, while the price of rice has not increased more than 30 per cent., and he remarks that the *value* of agricultural labour must vary with the price of the great staple rice. Mr. Whinfield gives the prices of rice and the rates of wages for road coolies in Noacolly during the last ten years, from which I see that between 1859 and 1863 the price of rice per maund fell from Rupees 2-8 to annas 15-6, while the monthly wages of coolies rose one Rupee. Moreover, the actual rise in wages took place in a year in which the price of rice fell 8 annas a maund. Further on, I find that a rise of 9 annas a maund in 1865 was accompanied by a rise in wages of Rupees 1-8, *viz*, from Rupees 6 to Rupees 7-8. The year 1866 was exceptional owing to the famine in the west, but a fall of Rupees 1-6-6 a maund in the price of rice in 1867 had no effect on coolies' wages, though a further fall of Rupees 1-4-6 in the present year has been followed by a return of wages to Rupees 6.

" 3. Nor is there any doubt as to the difficulty in procuring carriage, coolies, and palkee-bearers, *being much greater than formerly, even at an increased cost.* * * * *

" 5. Coolies are extremely difficult to procure anywhere, and the prices charged are very high. At Chittagong there is less difficulty (though it is considerable there also), and the rates are less than in the other two districts. In Tipperah and Noacolly, the rates are from annas 4-9 to annas 5-4 a day for occasional hiring, but rarely less than 5 annas, and coolies generally refuse to engage by the month. *Municipal and magisterial conservancy and road operations are often at a complete stand-still for want of coolies*, and at my recommendation the question of importation from Chota Nagpore is under consideration at Commillah, where the charge for a cooly to go thirty-two miles to Daoodkandy is Rupees 2-8."

" 6. With regard to the third point, the causes are these: the demand for labour in Arracan, where an insignificant salt tax, a very low land tax, and a very fertile rice country, enable the natives (if the statements current in Chittagong are correct) to afford to lie down all day and pay Chittagong labourers to do

then work, draws away a good deal of labour from Chittagong, and enhances the cost of what is left.

"7. But the general prosperity of the lower classes in this division, owing to the heavy rice crops, moderate land assessment, an economical way of living, is one of the causes, and a very satisfactory one, if no other existed. *When a man finds he has nearly all he wants by working a little at his field* (and the number of coolies who live solely by hiring out their labor is, except at Chittagong port, very trifling), *he does not care to labour for hire*, and only consents to do so on receiving high wages

"8. The chief cause of all, however, is that the labouring classes and their zemindars also have latterly got to thoroughly understand that under the policy of Government in all these matters, they can name their own price, and that the authorities will give it whatever it is, as the journey or work must be done; and similarly that the authorities will not interfere on behalf of the public; however exorbitant a charge may be. With this knowledge, and not being in a state of poverty, there is a clever system of combination which makes the bearers, carters, and coolies, masters of the situation. But this not all; nor are the working classes alone interested in the matter. The zemindars and gomastahs receive a large portion of the earnings of their tenants. In the case of gomastahs, &c, the payment is a direct one in cash. In the case of the zemindar, it is more often indirect, i. e., the bearer or cooly gives increased cesses in consideration of the zemindar helping him in making such charges; but I am informed that, not unfrequently, the zemindars get a portion of the earnings in cash. It is a well known fact that the zemindars about Commillah and on the road to Daoodkandy have fixed the charge for a cooly between those places at Rupees 2-8, though 12 annas would be high payment.

"9. The inconvenience and other evils resulting from this state of affairs is certainly such as to call for remedy. Government officers find extreme difficulty in getting carriage to enable them to travel about their districts. Though the style and manner of travelling is quite different to what it used to be, and very few officers now travel with any attempt at such moderate comfort as would render travelling anything less than disagreeable, the difficulties in getting carts and the expense are so great that the main object is to find reasonable excuses for travelling as little as possible; and when they cannot be found, the next object is to camp at particular places for a long

time, which will save both inconvenience and expense. About three months ago, a Deputy Collector, who thought his travelling was over till next season, asked me not to send him out in a particular duty in which he had acquired special experience, unless it was absolutely necessary, because he could not afford to spend more than his travelling allowance, and no "roughing it" would enable him to travel on that. And this statement has been repeatedly confirmed by other officers. Moreover, there is no knowing where it will end. There is no reason, as there would be in European countries, why even the existing exorbitant prices should not be doubled at any moment.

"10. Respectable persons who must themselves travel in a palkee, with luggage, &c., on carts, complain very much at the way they are fleeced.

"11. The Government policy is not appreciated by any class, the general public simply regard the absolute power in these matters (for the principle of competition never comes into play) vested in the labouring classes as an instance of our weakness and bad government. And the classes who profit have as little respect for it as those who suffer by it.

"12. With regard to the fourth point, my reply must entirely depend on the meaning of the words "sound principles." If they mean that the principles of free trade, as applied to bearers, carts, and coolies, are to remain in as full force as in England, then there is no remedy. The lower classes of natives hate organisation rather more than the upper and middle classes hate it; but perhaps the foregoing paragraphs may, on the face of them, show the impossibility of any organization, or anything like a "service" being established in this division under the present system.

"13. I trust, however, that the words "sound principles" do not necessarily, and under all circumstances, involve the conditions adverted to in the last paragraph, and that I may be permitted to question the soundness of applying such conditions and principles to the people of all countries alike, regardless of differences in religion, customs, habits, and circumstances.

"14. If the principle of free trade were fully applicable to this country even in matters coming most strictly under the term, *vis*, in the trade of the staple of rice, then under the facilities afforded by Government in the way of advertising prices, &c., and the special attention drawn to the subject, it would have answered in the case of the Orissa famine, where-

as the death of more than 5,00,000 persons from famine is a terrible refutation of the theory so persistently adhered to. And if the principle cannot be absolutely depended on under such favourable circumstances, it can scarcely be expected to answer when applied in other directions. In England, if a set of carpenters agreed to charge £1 a day for their labour, a sufficient number of other persons who had previously practised any other business would become carpenters, and that would rectify matters in a very short time. In this country, if a man is not by birth a palkee-bearer, nothing will induce him to carry a palkee and the same with every other trade, occupation, or service in India. The very basis of free trade principles is wanting in this country." * * *

It is a striking fact that in the four divisions last referred to, while every Commissioner testifies to the increasing price of cooly labour and increasing difficulty in procuring it, they nearly all assign different causes to account for it. The last three Commissioners and the Magistrate of Jessore all agree in naming the attractions of agriculture as one of the principal causes, and in this they are unquestionably right, but for the rest we think they are led into partial or total error from local circumstances. The Commissioner of Burdwan lays the whole difficulty at the door of the Railway, the Howrah Docking Company, and emigration. This, as we have shown, is absurd. The Railway, as we have already said, has, no doubt, to pay a high price for its coolies, and the demand it makes must draw away the supply somewhat from other districts; but we think the Railway fully makes up for this by the tendency which it has to foster the cooly class and keep them to cooly labour, whereas, had they remained and laboured in their districts, they would probable ere now have made use of their savings to turn agriculturists. If Patna and Bhaugulpore, through which the Railway passes, have felt the scarcity but little, and Dacca and Chittagong, where there is no Railway, feel it most severely of all, it seems to prove conclusively that the Railway has little, if anything, to do with it.

We cannot but think that the complete manner in which the causes which we have assigned correspond with the facts given by the Commissioners is sufficient to carry conviction to the minds of our readers that they afford the true explanation of the scarcity. A cooly's employment is looked on as the least honourable of all; the work he has to do, on the contrary, is comparatively more severe than that of the agriculturist. Hence,

as soon as the system of free competition obtains a full entry into the community, the labouring classes are able to raise their prices to earn increased profits, and to improve their position, as Mr. Monro testifies, and pass over into the agricultural class. But there are no corresponding accessions to the labouring class; diluvion is taking place without any counterbalancing alluvion; the habits and customs of the people are strongly opposed to any one who is above a labourer descending to work as one. They will suffer anything short of starvation rather than do so. Their inclination, their honour, their effeminate habits, are all opposed to it.

The all-important question, therefore, to be decided is, as we have already said, whether this labour difficulty will, if left alone, rectify itself or not. The Commissioner of Burdwan thinks it will; the Commissioner of the Presidency seems confident that it will do so. He relies entirely on the operations of the ordinary laws of supply and demand, just as men did in regard to the Orissa famine, till a million of souls had fallen a sacrifice to their confidence. That miserable event will indeed have done us one service if it teaches the Government to discredit for the next quarter of a century the advice of those who misapply the laws of Political Economy. We say designedly 'misapply,' for we have the greatest confidence in those laws and in their perfect soundness, when the antecedent conditions are not misunderstood it is precisely because the conditions were misunderstood in regard to Orissa, and are misunderstood also, we fear, in regard to the labour question, that we feel so anxious about the result. Far from shrinking from Political Economy, it is by appealing to its laws no less than to the experience of other countries that we hope to show that the scarcity and high prices will *not* tend to remedy themselves, but will go on increasing till they almost annihilate the supply.

It is an obvious truism that if there is a kind of occupation which is looked upon as unpleasant and degrading, men can only be induced to betake themselves to it from (1) necessity or (2) the attractions of high remuneration. Now, as we before contended, the main difficulty in Bengal—in fact, we believe in most tropical countries—is that though cooly labour is a *sine quâ non* for the material prosperity of the community, it is *not* a necessity for the personal well-being, still less existence, of any individual. Life is shorter than in temperate countries, the soil in general more fertile, and the necessaries of existence are more limited to what the soil produces without other than agricultural labour

The construction of roads, the building of pukka and even cutcha houses for the better classes, carrying palkees, pulling punkahs, making drains and khals, digging large tanks, are not necessities to the individual who is called upon to do them, however important they may be to the person who wishes to have them done for him. There are many countries, and we believe Bengal is one of them, where the mere produce of the soil is ordinarily sufficient for the support of the entire population, that is, where it feeds and clothes them, and produces a sufficient surplus to enable them to procure from without whatever else (and it is little enough) their wants extend to. In such a country it is clear that the population can exist and even thrive in the sense in which the Commissioner of Dacca in his last paragraph speaks of them as prosperous, and as having nothing to complain of, and as they thrive in Assam, without any cooly labour to speak of, or any of the results of it, in the shape of roads, railroads, irrigation, or other works, well built cities, embankments, or reservoirs. A few tanks with water just good enough not to poison the drinker is the only kind of work which can be regarded as an absolute necessity. And even this is *individually* so remote a necessity, that, as may be witnessed in many villages in Bengal, people will drink churned up mud and vegetable refuse for a long time before they will of their accord labour at constructing or cleaning out a tank.

It seems obvious, then, that the necessity for labour other than agricultural will not operate to prevent Bengal from passing into the state of Assam and from continuing to go on from bad to worse as regards material progress. Are the Government and its officials justified, then, in thinking that the attraction of high remuneration will be effectual in working a cure, and that, as Mr. Monro hopes, the demand will create a supply? We think a little care will show that this is even a more broken reed to rely upon than that of necessity.

If the demand was unlimited, there is no doubt that it would be certain to create a supply at last. We do not doubt that a gang of Brahmin coolies, who had passed the Entrance Examination, could be got together by offering them each Rupees 1,000 a month for their labour; but the problem is, first leaving Government out of the question, will the individual members of society be prepared to offer the terms which will be asked, *or will they rather forego the object for which the labour is wanted*, than pay the requisite price, and thus live in a state of uncivilised and unaspiring ease as in Assam?

Now, this depends precisely on the extent to which the price of labour must rise before it will operate as a sufficient inducement. This again is a question which we are convinced must be answered as the Commissioner of Dacca answers it. The old cooly class will continue to work at a rate which, if high, will not be preposterous, but by doing so they will nearly all in another generation have risen to easier circumstances, and the price will thenceforth have to be such as *will attract men who have hitherto shunned cooly labour to take to it*

Mr Simson says of his division. — “The price offered has *not* brought the required supply of labourers, and it will not, and not even if it should be raised ten times. The people of these districts will only labour at unpleasant work *for others* when very poor indeed. As soon as they pass the stage of poverty and can find any work for themselves of which they may themselves receive the profits, they will work no more for others, they will undertake no work for contract or hire.”

We are confident that every one, who has had the experience of endeavouring to induce any Bengallee who is above labour, as he thinks, to undertake labour, will unhesitatingly confirm what Mr Simson says. If, as seem likely, the cooly class in many parts of Bengal is entirely absorbed in another generation, there is nothing to prevent the price of labour increasing in another twenty years to 20 or even 30 Rupees a month. Preposterous as this may now seem, the prices now charged would have appeared almost equally preposterous twenty years ago. With such prices it is evident that private enterprise must be annihilated; only works necessary to existence will be undertaken, conservancy will be hopeless, all but the most thronged roads and communications will go to ruin, and water deteriorate more and more.

Government, it is true, will be able to obtain labour if it chooses to pay for it, but it is self-evident that Government, with its already too stationary revenue and already too expensive Public Works Department, will be compelled to draw in its horns also, and follow the example of private persons in abandoning the majority of its works. To say that the life of Europeans in India will be a burden to them, that a transfer of an officer will be equivalent to an exorbitant fine, is only to point out some of the most trivial of the misfortunes, not worth mentioning, compared with the general decline of the community.

We appeal, then, confidently to our readers whether there is any good ground for supposing that the scarcity and high price

of labour will, if left alone, remedy themselves. Have they done so in Assam? Have they done so in the Mauritius of the many countries in the West Indies, the Governments of which find it necessary to organise an expensive department of the State in order to introduce coolies from India to provide the requisite supply of labour? Even in Bengal itself, are there any indications of a re-action, or is it a fact that though the prices of labour have risen enormously, the class above that of the labouring class has shown no inclination to resort to labour? And if the scarcity of labour is increasing—we might say in regard to some parts of Bengal, continues unremedied—what will be the result? Those who have been in Assam know how to answer this question. All the minor roads will one after the other have to be abandoned owing to the expense of keeping them up; intercommunication except by boat will be at an end. Tanks will go on getting worse and worse; and every one shrink from the expense of re-digging them; uncultivated lands, orchards, and topes, will be more and more covered with injurious under-growth, owing to the expense of employing labour to root it out, pukka houses will fall more and more into ruins; drainage be neglected; sanitation be checked, owing to the prohibitory price requisite to carry out sanitary measures. and yet with all this the cost of keeping up the police, peons, guards, &c., will be constantly increasing, and the tendency of the expenditure to outrun the revenue be more marked than ever. European enterprise and capital will be driven out of the mofussil in consequence of the price of hired labourer; the expense of surveys will be doubled, and Government will be told, as it recently was in Assam, that an order to erect masonry pillars to mark boundaries, was impracticable, since the erection of such pillars in such a place would cost a fortune.

If this is the state to which the Government wishes to reduce Bengal, by all means let it follow Mr. Chapman's advice, and leave matters to themselves; and indeed one may well ask whether in what we have just sketched we have not been delineating that which is going on before our very eyes, rather than indulging in a prophetic picture. The evil is growing slowly no doubt, but not imperceptibly; it is only too true that already the state of things in Lower Bengal is becoming so bad as to cause serious anxiety. On all sides, and from the most independent sources, one hears evidence that the state of the country is unquestionably deteriorating. We do not pretend to say that the scarcity of labour is the cause, but we believe it is one of the causes at work, and

by no means the least efficacious. From every quarter in the very districts where labour is expensive we hear of the deterioration of the tanks, and that new ones are not being constructed as hitherto. The jungle is visibly growing upon the inhabitants, and all persons unite in saying that village conservancy is worse than formerly. All the smaller khalls and water-ways are notoriously silting up, and palkee travelling becoming an impossibility, as we saw from the reports in many places where there are no roads or railroads to replace it. Almost everywhere also in the interior pukka houses are falling into decay; even the European houses at the Sudder Stations are getting into the same state, and no new ones are being built. Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee well described the other day the contrast between the road-making and material progress which he witnessed up-country, as compared with the stagnation in Bengal, where we find that many old roads have been abandoned. New roads, it is true, are being constructed in many places, but the cost of them is enormous, and the Local Roads' Fund hopelessly and avowedly insolvent, and compelled to stop all progress. A road cess is now pronounced to be the only possible means of extrication.

Precisely the same may be said about embankments, which are getting out of repairs over the whole country, while the zemindars shirk the performance of their duty, terrified at the enormous cost which it will involve. European capital, too, is compelled slowly to abandon the contest. As we have already said, we do not pretend to treat the scarcity of labour as the only cause of all the misfortunes we have enumerated, and in many cases over speculation, no doubt, has ruined the European capitalist, but the high prices of hired labour have unquestionably contributed to his difficulties, and frequently been the inducement to have recourse to the illegal pressure which has brought him into contact with the local officials. Certain it is that almost all European capital is being driven out of Bengal. Indigo has gone, tea-planting has suffered a rude shock, and one speculation after another gets into difficulties.

What then, in conclusion, are the remedies we would propose? This is no doubt a most important question, but we believe that the task we have undertaken would be complete even if we did not attempt to enter upon this question. The important point is to draw attention to the intensity of the evil first. When this is duly admitted and realised, the Government and the public will be prepared to accept remedies which would otherwise be scornfully rejected. We will not, however, shrink from indicating

generally what we consider are the remedies that are required, which consist of an alternative choice between that suggested by the Commissioner of Chittagong and that by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar.

As we have just said, the cooly difficulty may be regarded as trivial and unimportant,—an inconvenience to Europeans and officials, which will cure itself if left alone,—but nothing serious or vital or it may be regarded as a most important and dangerous evil which threatens to paralyze all useful works in the districts to which it extends or may extend hereafter; to stop almost all public works by the prohibitive cost which the execution of them will involve, and, in one word, to convert Lower Bengal into Assam. We are confident that we have failed utterly in dealing with the question unless we have succeeded in showing that the latter is the true view, that the labour question in India is far more vital to the interests of the country than the educational, and that it lies at the root of economy in public works, roads, and communications, and, to a great extent, sanitation. If the former view is adopted, it is useless looking for any preventive or remedial measures, since nothing, such as the case requires, would be listened to. If, however, it be admitted that the present system is radically unsound, and requires the intervention of Government to remedy it as far as possible, then, as Lord Ulrick Browne contends, the view of what constitute ‘sound principles’ will be entirely altered, and there may be some hope of success.

What is wanted is the active intervention of Government as it has intervened in the question of education and in the provision of medicines and dispensaries. This intervention might, we believe, be successfully exercised in two ways.—(1) by compulsion and (2) by influence and agreement.

The principle underlying the former is that the public should tax the individuals forming the community in labour, and not only in money, as is now done exclusively. We can see nothing in the eternal essence of things, which makes it less justifiable for the community to require certain classes to give to the public a share of their labour than as it now does a share of their income. As Lord Ulrick Browne argues very cogently in a passage of his report which has been omitted, there is nothing radically unjust or unfair, nor is it unprecedented in civilized countries, to require forced labour. Speaking of this objection, he says, —

"I know that there is one objection to be surmounted, *viz.*, "that in this case even, though rates be fixed, it will be forced labour." To this I reply that, as regards all three, —bearers, carts, and coolies,—labour is forced already when required for troops, and that when nations as civilized as ourselves annually force many thousands of their countrymen to labour as soldiers (and run the risk of losing their lives at times) against them will for years for the public good, it seems worthy of consideration whether too much stress has not been laid on the asserted hardship of compelling a man to work at his own business for three or four days in the year at fair wages, whether he wishes to work for that particular employer or not, when his doing so will be of considerable public benefit."

We may add that both in England and here we already force persons to act as jurymen, whether they like it or not.

But, as Mr Monro indicates in his letter, it is quite in accordance with the habits and customs of this country to tax persons in this manner. Even in Bengal it is considered less degrading to be called upon by the Police or a public officer to perform some task requiring labour than it is to do the same work for a private individual. In Assam the distinction is very marked. We have not referred to the Assam report, but one of the Deputy Commissioners, Major Sheret, of Kamroop, explains so well the different estimates held of labour required by competent authority and voluntary labour for hire, that we cannot do better than extract the passage —

"I think I may safely say that 'purely' voluntary local labour is not to be obtained in Kamroop. I am perfectly sure that a European traveller wanting to proceed from this to the 'Cossyah Hills' or 'Upper Assam' could not quit this station and secure the necessary carriage for himself and baggage in the shape of 'local labour,' without the aid of the presiding civil authority. I will even go further than this, and state that even I myself, when proceeding on 'public duty' into the mofussil, am unable to secure voluntary 'local labour' for the carriage of Government records or my own private personal effects that I am compelled to take about with me.

"I am given to understand by old and respectable native Assamese residents, that in the olden days, under the old 'Ahom' dynasty, such a thing as 'voluntary' labour was unknown. This may appear strange when we have so many great and lasting relics of the old dynasty in the shape of enormous 'tanks,' 'bunds,' 'embankments,' and pieces of archi-

texture that bear testimony to the vigour and energy of those who had the carrying out of such stupendous works, "in which such an enormous amount of local labour must have been expended, but I believe the information tendered to be substantially correct."

"The native agricultural population would not work voluntarily under their 'Ahom rulers,' but they would cheerfully obey any order from the 'paramount' power, 'directing them to place their services for a time, as occasion demanded,' at the services of that ruler to whom they owed their allegiance, and I believe myself that the same idea holds good to the present day among the native labouring community under the 'present regime.'"

"I might go into the bazar and offer a rupee to a cooly to carry a reasonable load one day's journey from this to (say) Burneehaut, and I am perfectly sure no local cooly would step forward voluntarily to do the job."

"In fact, I may as well at once state that whether for 'public' or 'private purposes' voluntary labour is not procurable except under special circumstances, as in the case of road contractors and the tea planting community, who manage to secure a certain amount of temporary local labour, but only by making large advances beforehand. But neither Government nor private individuals can procure local coolies voluntarily for the mere carriage of stores or private effects. The aid of the district officer is a necessity when coolies are required either for Government or for private individuals in cases of emergency; coolies are readily procurable on the Deputy Commissioner's issuing a perwannah directing a mouzadar to procure and send in so many men according to the size and population of his mouzah. In all such cases it is self-evident that a certain amount of compulsion and impressment are employed. but the coolies understand this, and do not object to it, as they are aware the order for their temporary services emanates from competent authority."

The following extract from Mill's celebrated Assam report shows that Major Slerer is perfectly right in what he states of the ancient system:—

"7. The population was divided into *khells*, numbering from 1,000 to 5,000 able-bodied men of one caste or calling under superior officers called *borahs*. A *borah* possessed authority over twenty *ghots* of paicks, each *ghot* consisting of three paicks; a *sykchah* over 100 *ghots*, and a *hazaree* over

1,000 *ghots* The whole were placed under an officer of State, either a *phoken* or a *burooah*

" 8 One paik from every *ghot* was bound to labour for the king or the officers of State, to whom his services were devoted in this particular calling throughout the year. Such as were not field-labourers paid in coin, or had to give so much cloth, gold, or other articles which they were employed to produce. The hill-men compounded for service by small payments of cotton. The *Kacharies* were bound to serve as *palkee-bearers* or *coolies*

* * * * *

" 14 The revenue system introduced by the British was but a modification of that which previously existed. The custom of accepting *personal labor*, products, and presents was abolished, and the whole of the revenue was taken in cash "

Of course, we would not advocate the promiscuous forcing of labourers, but if the principle were adopted, an equitable system could easily be devised, by which villages or estates could be assessed at so much labour, and bound to provide workmen when called upon by Government at a stated price, variable according to the price of rice,—a power which Government would exercise both for its own public works as well as for useful private works in undertakings of which it approved. If the price were fixed at equivalent to that which an agriculturist would ordinarily earn in his own field, the duty would not become very unpopular, and the arrangement would have the effect of necessarily keeping up and maintaining a labouring class

We believe, however, that if Government would exert its influence, a similar result might be obtained by contract only, in the manner indicated by Mr Edgar as stated in para. 15 of the report of the Commissioner of Dacca. This would be especially practicable on waste lands or Government estates. To the former the Commissioners might, in correspondence with the Commissioners of Chita Nagpore or Behar, induce bodies of coolies to migrate, and then settle them on these lands at advantageous terms, on the express condition that they should always be ready to furnish Government with a certain number of coolies or bearers calculated at a percentage on their strength, at a reasonable rate variable from time to time as before. refusal would make them liable to ejectment. In Government estates, too, the Collectors might use their influence to foster the supply of the cooly class by granting leases on advantageous terms to all those who would

undertake either to give their personal service, or in the case of a village or number of ryots united together, to furnish a certain definite quantity of labour. Zemindars might be invited to follow the same system, and we believe that many of them are so sensible of the evils resulting from the present scarcity of coolies, that they would easily be induced to co-operate, and would support Government in this case more readily than they do in fostering education and erecting schools. It might be pointed out that the annihilation of the cooly class is a serious evil, and that though no one's liberty would be interfered with, encouragement would be given to all those who are willing to work for hire at those seasons and times of the year when they are not working on their land. Among the inferior classes men of influence might be encouraged to enrol themselves as sirdars, ready to procure coolies for Government at certain fixed rates when required, on condition of receiving a certain commission on the number engaged.

But, as we have said, details cannot be expected from us. We have accomplished our object if we have succeeded in persuading our readers generally that the existing scarcity of labour is running Lower Bengal, and will run it so far as the introduction of capital and material progress are concerned, still more as time goes on, and that the causes at work are such as offer no reasonable prospect of working out their own remedy, but will continue year by year to intensify as the profits of the remaining coolies increase, and their absorption into the class above them is completed. We also maintain most resolutely that no sound principle is violated even if Government institutes a sort of labour conscription in Bengal, in fact, that the violation would be more equitable and more justifiable than that which now takes place whenever troops have to be moved from one place to another and the first cart and first man that can be seized are impressed for the task.

If, however, the pluck (for so we regard it) of Government is unequal to the demand which this would make upon it, we still maintain that the most legitimate and unimpeachable exercise of influence will be sufficient to stem the evil in a great measure, and that the landlords and, as one of them, Government can best meet the difficulty by only letting land to those who will not be above labour. Many ryots will even still do work for their zemindars which they will do for no one else.

If, however, the advocates of the *laissez faire* principle are still allowed to carry the day, if misapplied political economy

is again to be permitted to regulate the action of Government, then we mournfully anticipate that the picture of Bengal will be more and more humiliating. We do not for a moment imagine that there will be danger of want or starvation; on the contrary, a famine would perhaps stave off the other evil for years, by forcing large classes to take to labour in order to reserve life. There will be ease and plenty, so far as ease is compatible with unwholesome water, endemic fever, and encroaching vegetation: but all attempts to develop the resources of the country, to check its growing insanitation, to inspire physical energy into its population, will be at an end. Assam was, as Major Sherer tells us, once at least as energetic a country as Bengal, its works, its tanks, its embankments at least as numerous; and the ruin which has overtaken them will slowly but surely overtake the works in Bengal.

SHORT NOTICES

INDIAN ANNALS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE.—No 24.

WE have received the 24th Number of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science," published in July. The issue is, as usual, replete with matter of technical value and interest, and contains also much that is attractive to the general reader. It opens with an address by Dr Fayrer to the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association, in which the author states his views on the vexed question of accommodation in our principal metropolitan hospital. The number of patients received in the wards of the Medical College Hospital has, as is now generally known, undergone recent reduction, with the object of providing increased space for individuals, and it is alleged by the College authorities that the results of the measure have been satisfactory. Outside opinion, however, has taken a different direction. The scarcity of hospital accommodation in Calcutta, though we think it has been a little exaggerated, has been adduced against the justness of the change. It is argued that the results of restricting the admission of sick cannot be measured by any favorable change within the wards, but must include the fate of those turned from the doors under the new system; that to justify such a procedure, facts of the most conclusive nature will alone suffice in a hospital, which, notwithstanding its educational purposes, came into existence for the benefit of the sick poor of Calcutta; and that the facts adduced by the officers of the hospital, so far from having this character, prove, if they prove anything at all, that the growing mortality of native patients is due to causes independent of the hospital altogether, since, years ago, when the city was differently circumstanced, the hospital of the day, with its cruder science, primitive construction, and larger number of inmates, showed mortuary figures very small in comparison with those now presented. Moreover, it is observed that in one large and important part of the institution, no reduction of numbers has taken place, but the improvement in mortality is as marked here, during the period selected for comparison, as elsewhere. We are forced to think that the College authorities have taken too narrow a view of their

position with regard to the sick of the metropolis, and also that facts, as far as they have yet been developed, are strikingly against them. Dr. Fayrer's views, as those of one concerned in bringing about the alteration, are naturally in its favour. The remainder of the address is devoted to matters purely professional.

Dr. Bird follows with an entertaining essay on "Idiosyncrasy." The term, as employed by the author, has a very wide range of meaning, for, in the course of the article, it is made by implication to embrace the distinguishing features of almost all distinguishable things. He sets out with an assumption that peculiarities of individual constitution are solely due to the influence of external agents, by first asserting that in all our organs and tissues, normal structure, quality, and function, are so determined, both as to origin and subsequent development "Each tissue," he says, "appears to be moved by certain agents, and by other agents not to be moved at all. * * * * * When it happens that these elements, which only have the power to move a certain tissue, are withdrawn, that tissue, for lack of exercise, begins to waste. By a reference to this principle I explain the phenomenon of a man becoming idiotic while undergoing a course of solitary confinement." This is a fair example of the uncompromising realism which has taken possession of Dr. Bird's mind. All the influence which creates and modifies the mind of man is the influence of external things. We are not allowed even to suppose that there can be original internal motion of any kind. Volition, design, directing and controlling force, even a reciprocal action of mind on matter, are not tolerated for a moment. Man is a creature of circumstances, and of nothing else; and if one should dare to breathe the name of free-will, we tremble for his destiny at the hands of Dr. Bird. Yet his first illustration is scarcely a happy one. If idiocy, following solitary confinement, be but an example of a universal law, what is to be said of cases in which no such result is seen, nay more, of cases where great efforts of genius have grown out of the same position?

Strange as it may now appear in so stern a realist, Dr. Bird is a staunch adherent of deductive reasoning, not that he makes any formal declaration of such a creed, but from beginning to end of his paper, as in the above example, he assumes his law, and applies it to his facts. External things, according to him, are the sole agents in the formation of human mind and character; yet the mind that would arrive at sound conclusions must not exercise itself, as the mind of Bacon would do, and that

of Newton has done, in the diligent observation of facts, and inductive formation of an hypothesis to be afterwards tested by further facts, until it is proved to be law. The first assumption of a principle is seen in every argument this essay contains, and notably in an attack on the present method of investigating the causation of disease, by searching for special antecedents and calling them causes; for the author contends that diseases are due to no single cause, "but to a combination of all the influences to which we are being subjected when they manifest themselves in our tissue,"—influences which, from the context, we find to embrace the operation of all the known forces of nature. Very probable indeed, and far be it from us even to affect a sneer at the expansive minds of those who devote themselves to the study of cosmical phenomena on the largest scale, in their bearing on our well-being. but are we therefore prohibited from carefully noting and weighing the last link in the chain, the proximate fact, the only link, it may be, that is appreciable by our senses? Is it not rather true that a link so found is a step upwards to an antecedent link, and so leads us along the road to sound generalisation, from effect to cause, from facts to principles, from instances to laws, and so in the end to those combinations, if they exist, which Dr. Bird would have us assume in the outset? If, however, the doctrine of special "poisons" is so contemptible, what shall we say for our antidotes? If the miasm which brings an ague is not a single tangible agent or force, what is the nature of the quinine that counteracts it? What a rare embodiment of vast and varied forces its little crystals must present, when they overthrow at once the great febrile combinations of our author? Does Dr. Bird need to be reminded of the simple fact from which Newton evolved the machinery of the universe? or to be told that Kepler reasoned in the opposite direction, and that three special laws record the labour of his life-time?

But, philosophy apart, Dr. Bird has produced, as we have said, a very entertaining essay; and those who are diverted by the eccentricities of their kind, will do well to follow him through his examples of idiosyncrasy. They take the form of personal anecdotes, told not unfrequently with a racy humour which well befits them. We must content ourselves with a single instance:—"A. B. was a young military man of fair family and abundant fortune, and passed in the world for a man of average abilities and good morals. He seemed to care little for the society of women, and it was therefore with no little concern and astonishment that his relations discovered he had

"fallen violently in love with a woman who was twice his age, and who was so deficient in intelligence as to be considered an idiot. She also slobbered as she talked. So infatuated was this youth with this old woman, that he would sit by her for hours, purring over her, and wiping the slobbers from her chin. He recovered from his attack after two or three weeks' suffering, and is now married in accordance with common taste and the wishes of his friends."

"The above case," Dr Bird adds with more emphasis than chivalry, "is to be explained in the same way as a love of assafoetida and other stinks."

But Dr. Bird is not always grotesque. He can be artistic on occasion. We extract the following from another portion of his paper. If the argument from analogy will not bear much criticism, the picture at least is prettily painted. The subject is *Memory*: "Many find it difficult to realise to themselves how it is possible for the experiences of a life-time to be stored up in the brain-tissues. I will try to help the faith of those men with an illustration. I take an English Bible and show it to a savage who is ignorant of the history of the civilised world, and who has never heard of printing; and I tell him that on its pages are written strange and eventful records—records of men's lives, of the rise of nations, of wars and treaties, of the origin and establishment of religions, of the decline and fall of empires, &c. He listens and looks, but the crooked characters in which these histories are traced, excite in him fewer ideas than the surface of the barren country to which he is accustomed does. He sees so many ounces of paper covered with black tracings, but they are as blank to his mind as so many ounces of wood or stone. To the same savage I show a human brain, and in like manner I tell him that within its folded structure is written the record of an eventful life. Here is the account of our struggle for position, there the story of our loves and ambitions; within this fold lies the tale of our joys and triumphs, within that, of our sorrows and bereavements. Here are the traces of fluent and flexible childhood, here of a gushing and enthusiastic youth, here of a cold and resolute manhood, and there of a selfish old age; and see over all the intricate web, hopes and fears are scattered like the lights and shadows of a landscape. He looks and listens, but the folded tissues, as in the case of the written leaves, impress him no more than so much wood or stone does. Reasoning in this

"way, we are able to see how it is possible for 50 or 60 ounces of brain-tissue to be the sheet on which are impressed the varied experiences of a life, and how the time may come when by the assistance of apparatus we may by unnumerable comparisons come to be able to read those impressions as easily as a Fiji savage can be brought, in these days to read the printed Bible."

It is cruel to disfigure so fair a sketch, but we must ask Dr. Bud how often in the course of a single year, by natural process of nutrition and decay, is every cell and fibre of the brain destroyed and replaced, and if the cerebral records of eventful lives are merely as writings on tissue, how does the impress survive the ceaseless structure-change, without which there can be no life in man?

Among the remaining articles of this issue of the "Annals," we observe some "Rough Notes" by Mr. Oldham on the geological constitution of the soil on which our principal military stations are placed. The connexion between peculiarity of soil and epidemic disease is becoming an important point of enquiry under the guidance of Professor Pettenkoffer, and we do not doubt that our sanitary officers will feel indebted to Mr. Oldham for this contribution in aid of their researches. Dr. Francis's paper on Army Hospital Equipment is based on a careful study, at the Paris Exhibition, of all modern improvements. We regret that time and space do not admit of our noticing it at greater length. It will well repay the perusal of those interested in the subject.

A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor of Madras in 1778-80, from the misrepresentations of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, and other Historians of British India: including an examination of Mr. Hastings's relations with Sir Thomas Rumbold. BY HIS DAUGHTER, THE LATE ELIZABETH ANNE RUMBOLD. London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868.

A STORY is told of Sir Walter Raleigh that one afternoon during the time he was engaged on his *History of the World*, he witnessed in one of the courts of the Tower a quarrel between two men, which ended in a murder. Two of his friends came to see him immediately after, so entirely disagreed, not

only between themselves, but with him in then relation of the circumstance, that Sir Walter in a rage seized the manuscript volumes of his history and flung them into the fire, exclaiming that it was not for him to relate the history of the world - if he could not relate what he had seen a quarter of an hour before. The action was an extravagant one, but it illustrates a feeling which all students have, that in spite of our theories for the analysis of ancient history, we can never be sure that we have facts and events as they actually occurred, and that even where there can be no doubt respecting the leading events themselves, we can never know that we have the truth regarding the character and motives of the actors. The temptation to generalize from imperfect data, or gather our estimates of character from prejudiced sources, has often resulted in the distortion of history, and in serious injury to men who have deserved well of their country, and although 'pictured pages,' like those of Macaulay, may have the merit of investing history with an interest that is life-like and enchanting, there is always a fear lest, owing to the individual temperament or educational bias of the historian, the pictures should prove to be rather the offspring of fancy than a reproduction of the reality.

We are convinced that the real history of India has yet to be written. We have got its leading political features, but not the true character of many of its chief actors, or the influences by which they were swayed. We are still at the mercy of historian dogmatism. Many of the events, too, are too close to our own times to be treated of dispassionately, or with the fullness which is only attainable when the actors are removed by a considerable interval from the record of their deeds. The 'Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold,' shows how Indian historians may misrepresent the men they write about, under the influence of prejudice, or one-sided statements, or inability to reach the most reliable sources of information, or all combined. Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras in 1778-80, is charged with having subordinated his entire administration to his own corrupt ends. Led away, no doubt, by the fact of certain proceedings in Parliament, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties that greeted him on his return to his native land, our writers of Indian history have unwittingly injured the memory of a man who now appears to have deserved very different treatment. Sir Thomas Rumbold is accused of having transmitted four lakhs and a half of rupees to England only six months after he had become Governor of Madras,—a sum

out of all proportion to his lawful emoluments. Shortly before his arrival at Madras, a Committee of Circuit had been appointed to complete a settlement with the zemindars of the Northern Circars. This Commission Sir Thomas is charged with having cancelled in order to secure to himself an unlawful advantage by getting the zemindars to transact business with himself alone at Madras. He is also accused of complicity with his Secretary, Mr Redhead, in regard to a bribe of a lakh of rupees offered to the latter by Seetaram Raj, who sought to be re-instated as Dewan of his brother the zemindar of Vizagapatam, and who was accordingly re-instated, notwithstanding his brother's remonstrances. And it has been believed, and hitherto accepted as history, that the circumstances connected with the transfer of the Guntur Circar, betrayed an underhand dealing which could only have been prompted by the same irrepressible lust that had marked his other transactions. These are the principal charges against him, and for the last eighty years his memory has been overshadowed by them.

The 'Vindication' by his daughter, who devoted the best years of her life to the collection and analysis of all the records on the subject that could possibly be procured, meets all the charges urged in Mr. Dundas's Bill, and shows, not only that they were unfounded, but that the historians of the day, and especially Mill, have simply accepted the statements of his accusers instead of basing their judgment on the results of the Parliamentary inquiry. So satisfactory is the evidence of documents, many of which have only now for the first time come to light, that Mr. Marshman, to whom Miss Rumbold took her manuscript, has, in a long appendix to the first volume of his history as published by Longmans, 1867, acknowledged that 'this chapter of Indian history requires to be written afresh.' 'The interests of historical truth,' he adds, 'demand this candid admission, and render it necessary to place before the reader the clear explanations which these documents afford, of various points on which his (Sir T.'s) conduct has been impeached.'

Miss Rumbold has shown that the money her father sent home from Madras was not all his own, a considerable portion of it having belonged to Sir Hector Munro; and that what was his had been realized in Bengal, where he had for twelve years been a Civilian and chief of the factory of Patna. It is now proved that Sir Thomas did a wise thing in

dispensing with the Committee of Circuit, who were not only sure to have been baffled by the zemindars, but whose action was already fomenting hostility to the British Government, and that the Court of Directors expressed their approval of his conduct. It is now proved that Mr. Redhead never had the confidence of Sir Thomas, and that the Counsel for the Bill of Pains and Penalties abandoned the charge of bribery on finding that it could not be sustained. It is now proved that the Dewau who had supplanted Seetaram Raj was found to have been a defaulter, and that Seetaram was re-instated after a reconciliation had been brought about between the brothers.

In some respects the most serious accusation brought against Sir Thomas was that in connection with the transfer of the Guntour Circar. The story is too long to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the confederacy formed by the Nizam is now shown to have existed before the transfer, and not, as has been supposed, to have been originally suggested by it. It is also clear that the hostility of the Nizam was owing to the support given by Hastings to Raghoba and the Rajah of Berar, and that the war in the Carnatic, so far from having been provoked by the Madras Government, was designed at a date anterior to the formation of the Nizam's confederacy, and may be mainly attributed to the Mahratta War. Indeed, Miss Rumbold's 'Vindication' discloses the fact that 'the first censure ever addressed by the Court of Directors to Sir Thomas Rumbold, and which was accompanied by a sentence of banishment from the service, was dated three months after they had received his formal resignation, under circumstances explained by himself, which precluded his ever seeking further employment in the climate of India'; that when 'the Directors went through the mockery of dismissing him from a service which he had already relinquished, it was ostensibly for measures carried out at Madras, with every detail of which they had been acquainted for much above a twelve-month, and at which they had testified no dissatisfaction'; that not only were all these accusations placed in a very different light, or utterly disproved at the bar of the House of Commons, but that some of the charges, made very prominent in Mr. Mill's history, had been abandoned as 'untenable articles of the Bills of Pains and Penalties, before any evidence in support of them had been attempted on the part of the accusers'; and that the Bill itself was withdrawn twenty months after it had been presented.

One other circumstance to which prominence is given in the 'Vindication,' is the conduct of Hastings, whose enmity is believed to have been excited against Sir Thomas, owing to the latter's having boldly protested against the Mahratta War, 'the war of the Directors duped by the Council of Bombay.' But on this question we cannot enter here.

Miss Rumbold's book concludes with a valuable appendix of statements and documents relating to her father's administration. The entire volume is well worth reading, and cannot but be regarded as an important contribution to authentic Indian history.

Indian Polity : a View of the System of Administration in India. By Major Chesney Longmans, Green, and Co

THIS interesting work, especially interesting at a time when the administrative machinery of India is so much discussed, requires a fuller analysis than can be given to it in a short notice. We hope therefore to be able to present our readers in our next number with a paper on the subject which could not be prepared in time for this volume. The author's name is sufficient to ensure the sale of the work without any commendation from us.

Scenes from the Rámáyana By RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH, M. A.
London Trubner & Co Calcutta W. Newman & Co
Benares E. J. Lazarus & Co., 1868

GOETHE says somewhere in his Autobiography, that that which is really valuable is what remains of a poet when he is translated into prose ; and it may be observed that the great German poet seldom departed from this principle. When he wished to express the spirit of Greek or Italian poetry, as in the second part of Faust, he did not translate—he imitated. It is doubtful whether, even with this method, he succeeded in transfusing the cold, self-restrained majesty of Sophocles into German. We ourselves have never met with any one who admired the Helena, — with few who even professed to understand it. To us there is something quite melancholy in the flood of translations of ancient authors, which at present inundates England. The only

translations, that live, are those that, like Pope's, depart very widely indeed from the spirit of the original. A really faithful translation must be "caviare to the vulgar." No one can understand it who is not a perfect master of the original; and we ourselves could never see why such a person needs a translation at all. Still we fear that Horace will go on being translated till the "crack of doom." It is doubtful whether, if he had foreseen the torturing he was to undergo, he would have been willing that "so large a portion of himself should escape Libutina."

Mr Griffith may be said to be the Pope to the Indian Homer. If the problem were capable of solution, we have no doubt that he would solve it. His verses are melodious and full of spirit, and have the true poetic ring about them whenever he gets quite clear of the original. In his first selection from the *Rāmāyana*, he attains this happy liberation. We cannot say that his polished verses express the business-like accuracy of the original. We are very glad that they do not. Invaluable as the picture of the ideal Brahminical state is in a historical point of view, it is essentially prose, and very dull prose too. Pluto would never have roused the indignation of Tertullian if his 'Republic' had been written in this style. Mr Griffith occasionally touches upon the original, but he has too much poetical taste to attempt translation properly so called.

The next translation is not like the previous, in Macaulay's ballad-metric, but in that of Pope. But the author has given his verses a flexibility and freedom which are not to be found in Pope's well balanced distiches. In this he seems to follow Matthew Arnold in his *Tristram and Isolt*. One extract will give an idea of the author's strength and of his weakness. In the complaint against Ravana, which the gods address to Brahma, we find the lines—

"From him the sun restrains his wonted glow,
 "Nor dares the wind upon his face to blow,
 "And ocean *necklaced with the wandering wave*,
 "Stills the wild waters till they cease to rave
 "O Father! lend us thine avenging aid,
 "And slay this fiend, *for we are sore afraid*."

The admirable expression, "*necklaced with the wandering wave*," is almost a literal translation of the Sanscrit *mahōrminalī*. "Stills the wild waters till they cease to rave," is a poetical expansion of *prakampatē*, which means "trembles." The less said about the last line, the better.

The "Alexandrian" elegance of Kálidása is more easily transfused into English, than the simplicity of the *Rámáyana*. But the insuperable difficulty of translating Hindoo poetry into our language consists in this, that the ideas of the original are often unintelligible without a considerable knowledge of Hindoo thought, often such as to any European of taste must be positively repulsive. In illustration of this we will quote from Mr. Griffith's "Birth of Ráma" two lines, where an altogether different idea is given by the translator, from that which was in the mind of Kálidasa. Speaking of Dasáratha, the translator says —

"No king he deemed with him in bliss could vie.

"No, nor the Father of the earth and sky "

We do not believe that so distinguished a Sanscrit scholar as Mr. Griffith could dream for a moment that these words expressed the sense of the passage. Mallinátha explains it thus: He thought himself to be revered as being the father of the Father of the universe (*i e.*, Vishnu, who was incarnate in his three wives). It is obvious that this idea could never have assumed a poetical coloring in English. Accordingly it has to be suppressed. On the same principle, in another passage, *moksha* is translated "bliss." The truth is that Mr. Griffith has done all that could be done, but it is difficult enough to translate Greek poems into tolerable English verse. In the case of Oriental compositions, the difficulty is increased ten-fold. We hold the gem of the whole collection to be the Suppliant Dove. We regret to say that we have not had an opportunity of comparing this with the original, to which we have no doubt that it is far superior.

One word with respect to the preface, in which there is a criticism of the *Máhabhárata* from the orthodox Hindoo stand-point. We do not wish to controvert the assertion that the general moral tone of the *Rámáyana* is lofty. It is perhaps as lofty as that of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though we fail to see the perfection of Ráma's character. But we do not think that the writer has shewn much discrimination in praising the magnificent descriptions of battle scenes found in the *Rámáyana*. Let any one compare the death of Hector with that of Rávana. The latter monster having ten heads, is destroyed by means of a missile prepared expressly for the purpose, which in the air separates into ten crescent-headed arrows (similar to those with which commanders used to cut off the heads of running ostriches in the Roman amphitheatre), each of which amputates a head. The admirable

ingenuity with which the means are adapted to the end, robs the scene of all interest. Tastes differ, and the taste of India is not that of Europe. We are inclined to believe that few battle pieces in Hindoo poetry could have any interest for a European. There is nothing of the *charmé*—of the *hugus certaminis gaudia*. Our enthusiasm is frittered away with tedious and interminable supernaturalism. The strength of the Hindoo poets lies rather in tenderness and in descriptions of natural scenery. However, a vivid interest appears to be excited now in Indian antiquities, and we have no doubt that these scenes from the *Rāmāyana* will be eagerly read both here and in England, especially as they will be supplemented with an admirable commentary in Mr. Talboys Wheeler's forthcoming volume.

The Anglo-Indian Lyre ; or, the Asian Mystery, and other Poems By William Edwin Cantopher. DeRosario and Co.

WE have much pleasure in noticing an unpretending little volume of poems put forth by Mr Cantopher, of the Hooghly College, with the undisguised intention of vindicating his claim to departmental promotion. Mr Cantopher, by showing that his thoughts and writings are of a superior quality, wishes to gain, in the verdict of public opinion, some equivalent to a university degree, which he considers a *sine quâ non* to the favour of those who dispose of the patronage of Educational appointments in Bengal. While we wish Mr Cantopher every success, and believe him to be worthy of that which he covets, we cannot help remarking that the Preface, in which he states his views thus bluntly, contains some things which are not in accordance with our ideas of good taste. The author has evidently been in the habit of dwelling alone and apart from common sympathy. He is too anxious to take the public into his confidence, and to draw their attention to his forlorn state, and other matters, which, however interesting in themselves, are more fit for a private audience than to be included in a volume addressed to the public. But notwithstanding these errors of taste, we see much to admire and little to find fault with in this volume, which is certainly worthy, of all it aspires to, a place in the Anglo-Indian Lyre

The rhyme and rhythm are generally true, although it is Mr Cantopher's misfortune occasionally to spoil a really fine bit with a bad rhyme, or, to stretch that much abused quality —Poetic License—a little beyond the usually conceded limits. For instance, in the 'Asian Mystery,' fourth stanza, we find a very fine piece.—

He comes, the terror of the Indian plains !
Through all her hundred bounds, from every side,
Re-echoes the dread name—The Ghiznevide !
And Somnaut's spoils attest the Moslem's gains,
What though he forged not the victor's chains,
Ceased not with him the flash of scimitar,
Ceased not the advancing tide of Moslem war
Fresh hordes on hordes the crumbling ranks supply,
U-beek and Patan for the conquest vie ,
And Timur's gory path, and Baber's might,
And Akbar's fortunes in the listed fight,
End in Aurungzebe's sceptre bright

Here the impression caused by a very fine passage is somewhat marred by the shortcomings of the last line.

At the end of an enthusiastic note on England, we find what we consider the real gem of the volume. Of all the allusions to his domestic misfortunes the prettiest, tenderest, and most allowable —

Where the shadows lower
By lone Neehell's green,
Where the early wild-flower—
Shakes its head unseen,
There, round one spot, my heart still lingers,
Drawn ceaselessly by hidden fingers,
For there a grass-grown mound
Lifts up its mouldering head,
Marking the narrow bound
Where sleeps the blessed dead.
Within its sacred precincts lie
All once was mine by love's most tender tie

The 'Asian Mystery' had already appeared in the columns of the *Indian Daily News*, and has been noticed by that and other contemporaries. The next piece, the *Voyage of a Cloud*, is fan, but reminds us of a mixture of Wordsworth and Shelley. Several other pieces are well worth reading, and though we find some faults in the volume, it contains enough to show that Mr Cantopher is fully justified in claiming a place in the first ranks of Anglo-Indian poets.

THE TAGORE FAMILY

A brief account of the Tagore Family Calcutta, 1868.

THIS pamphlet has acquired more than the ordinary interest attaching to such publications from the fact of its issue having immediately preceded the death of one of the most respected members of this family, Baboo Prossono Coomar Tagore, C S L, a member of the Legislative Council of the Government of India, a gentleman well known for many years both to the European and Native sections of the community, and much respected by both.

The publication, which is one of family rather than of general interest, professes to furnish us with a genealogical history of the *Tagore* (or *Taguore*) family as compiled from records in its possession by the chief family Priests, Ghotuck and Bhat, and verified subsequently by Bungshoodhur Vidyaratna, the oldest and most respected Ghotuck in Bengal. Their authenticity may therefore be considered as incontestable.

It is perhaps pretty generally known that although Brahmins of pure blood and ancient descent, this family has for many generations been placed beyond the pale of caste, from which its members have since been most rigorously excluded. Two accounts are given of this eviction, and we cannot but admit that the punishment appears to us somewhat incommensurate to the offence.

Both date from the time of one Purushottama Vidyagavisa, who is said to have married the daughter of a person blemished in caste. In the first it is alleged that an ameen, named Pir Ali Khan, who had been deputed to hold an investigation in the village of Guigian in the Jessore District, had an altercation with some of the inhabitants of the village as to whether to smell forbidden food was not an offence tantamount to that of half eating it.

Some time after, he invited several persons to his house, all of whom he made to smell forbidden food. Two of the guests, who were reported to have partaken of the food, were obliged to become Mahomedans, and the remainder of those present were at once outcasted by the Pundits, and named Pnals. Purushottama, it is said, was one of the latter.

The other account is as follows. Purushottama, who was a man of superior learning and caste, was travelling through Jessore on his way to bathe in the Ganges, when the Chaulbris of that place, who had lost caste in the above-mentioned way,

forcibly carried him off and married him to one of their daughters. It is said that he thus inherited his father-in-law's expulsion from a caste which his descendants have never since been able to re-enter.

To the work is attached a genealogical table tracing the pedigrees of the principal members of the Tagore family now living, which will be read with interest by those to whom they are known.

The Life of Ram Doolat Dey, the Bengallee Millionaire

THIS little pamphlet is the reproduction of a lecture delivered at the Hooghly College in March last. The lecturer, Baboo Grish Chunder Ghose, the editor of one of the best native English papers in this part of India, is well known as a speaker for the brilliancy and fertility of his ideas, which he gives utterance to with a fluency which many English speakers might well covet.

The lecture gives us a picture of the domestic life of a rich native gentleman, who, in spite of his business avocations, remained, according to the writer, a Hindoo of Hindoos to the last. The pamphlet has been so fully commented on by the daily press that it does not need any extended notice at our hands.

'The Spoilt Child of the Indian Family,'

IS the title given to a small pamphlet which is a re-print of two articles which appeared in the *Times of India*, in August 1867, with a preface denoting the object of the reproduction. We are ashamed to own ourselves entirely oblivious of the articles in question till they were presented to us in the present pamphlet form, and a careful perusal of them has led us to the conclusion that the writer would have done better in allowing them to sink into obscurity.

All financiers of the present day are aware that the nominal revenue of Bengal cannot be all fairly claimed by that province, and that its boasted surplus of ten millions will not stand analysis; but we never before heard that as long as a tax is equal throughout the whole empire, therefore a province which consumes, and consequently pays, twice as much proportionately as another province, is not to be credited with the increased revenue thus raised,—a proposition which forms the basis of the

calculation made in this pamphlet, which intentionally omits altogether from the account the proceeds of salt customs, and opium. Nor did we know that "salt and customs duties are paid by the consumers equally over the country." We admit that we were under the impression that salt made south of the Chulka paid a far less tax than that manufactured north of it, and consequently that the Bengalee consumer of this article paid a far higher duty than the Madrassee.

We are no friends to that splendid blunder, the Permanent Settlement, but we like to see it fairly treated, and the principle adopted by the pamphleteer of lumping the entire expenditure on all parts of the empire into one whole, and assuming that each province ought to contribute its rateable share of the income required to meet this expenditure, proportioned to its population or area, is obviously fallacious. If it is a fact that Bengal requires hardly any army, needs no array of settlement officers, and consumes more than its share of imported and excisable goods, surely all this must be taken into account in fixing the share of revenue which it ought to raise.

In any case we demur to the assertion that *Bengal* is the spoiled child of the Indian Family. Whatever tax is paid elsewhere is paid here, and is generally more productive here than elsewhere. The deficiency, if such there be, is simply caused by the Supreme Government for the day having deemed fit to make a present of a large portion of the land revenue to the zemindars for the time being, and to their successors. What a selfish and unprofitable use the bulk of them have made of the present, in spite of a few illustrious exceptions, is known to all. But the rest of the people of Bengal, the agricultural, the mercantile, the trading, the official communities, have rather suffered than gained by this measure. How then can Bengal's position be said to be "favored?" It seems to us that it has been rather sinned against than sinning.

A Positivist has sent us his *Reply to an article on Positivism in the 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1866*. Though somewhat late in the field, the pamphlet shews that it is written by one who is perfectly familiar with the teaching of his master, and some passages cutting up the rationalistic latitudinarian Theism of the Reviewer indicate pretty clearly that Hector in the armour of Achilles, cannot withstand the attack of a spear from the same armoury.

1 C Bose and Co, Stanhope Press, are the Positivists print- .

‘RATIONALISM and Faith’ is the somewhat ambitious title of a religious pamphlet, published by DeRozario & Co. It consists of a re-print of a series of articles from the *Indo-European Correspondence*, together with a lengthy preface.

‘PRINSEP’S Code of Criminal Procedure,’ 2nd Edition, will be noticed in our next.

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Ditto	ditto,	" 8,	do	$6\frac{1}{8}$	by $3\frac{1}{8}$	do.	"	2 12

Metallic Wallets.

Penny's Metallic Wallets, with memorandum book, two pockets,
and elastic fastenings, No 1451, measuring 5 by 4 inches,
bound in roan

						...	"	1 12
Ditto	ditto,	No 350 & 550,	do	$4\frac{1}{8}$	by $2\frac{1}{2}$	do	...	2 0
Ditto	ditto,	" 451,	do	5	by 3	do.	"	2 4
Ditto	ditto,	" 551 $\frac{1}{2}$,	do	$5\frac{1}{8}$	by $3\frac{1}{8}$	do	"	2 6
Ditto	ditto,	with extra pockets, thick, &c, No. 750,	ditto					
	$4\frac{1}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$	ditto				...	"	2 10
Ditto	ditto,	No. 851,	do	5	by 3	do	"	2 12
Ditto	ditto,	with memorandum book, No 352,	do	$5\frac{1}{8}$	by			
	$2\frac{1}{2}$ do	ditto				...	"	2 12
Ditto	ditto,	with extra pockets, &c, No 451 $\frac{1}{2}$,	do.	$5\frac{1}{8}$	by 3			
	ditto	ditto				...	"	2 12
Ditto	ditto,	No 751 $\frac{1}{2}$,	do.	$5\frac{1}{8}$	by $3\frac{1}{8}$	do.	"	3 0
Ditto	ditto,	" 852,	do	6	by $3\frac{1}{8}$	do	"	3 2

Ink and Pencil Eraser.

Faber's Ink and Pencil Eraser, in cakes at 0-6 each, or per box
containing one dozen cakes

... " 3 0

Marking Ink.

Bond's permanent Marking Ink, per phial

... " 1 0

Barber's Crimson do., per do.

... " 1 0

BARNHAM, HILL, & CO.'S ADVERTISEMENT.

Postage Scales or Letter Balances.

Greave's portable Letter Weigher for English and Indian Postage, in morocco cases, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch ... Rs 4 8

Leather-covered Spring Inkstands.

Mordan's $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square patent leather covered Spring Inkstands, well adapted for travelling					Rs 3 8
Ditto $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					3 14
Ditto 2 ditto ditto ditto					1 8
Ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					4 12
Ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					5 4
Ditto 3 ditto ditto ditto					8 0
De la Rue's $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					2 8
Ditto $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					3 0
Ditto 2 ditto ditto ditto					3 12
Ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					4 8
Ditto $3\frac{1}{2}$ ditto ditto ditto					7 8

Glass Inkstands.

Square solid cut-glass, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high		Rs 5 0
Ditto ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ ditto, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ditto		3 12
Ditto ditto, mounted on brass, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high		5 8
Ditto ditto, $2\frac{1}{2}$ square, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high		5 0
Lump, or Moulded Glass Inkstand, 3 inches in diameter, 1 inches high, mounted on brass		4 0
Lump, or Moulded Glass Inkstand, 3 inches in diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, mounted on brass, with glass stand, 3 inches square		4 8
Ditto ditto, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches ditto, 4 inches high do.		5 0
Ditto ditto, hexagonal ditto, 4 inches high, mounted on do		4 0
Ditto ditto, circular fluted ditto, 4 inches in diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, mounted on do		3 8
Ditto ditto, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 4 inches high, on a circular glass stand, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter		5 0
Solid cut glass Circular Inkstand, 4 inches in diameter, 4 inches high, on a square glass stand, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, mounted on brass, with air-tight glass top		8 0
Ditto hexagonal ditto, 5 inches in diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, mounted on brass		8 0
Ditto circular ditto, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 2 inches high, with bronze top		6 0
Ditto ditto, 4 inches in diameter, 2 inches high, with bronze top		4 0

Flat Examaples for Object Drawing.

De la Rue's Flat Examaples for Object Drawing, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches ... Rs 3 0

Spirit Lamps.

Glass Spirit Lamps, of sizes , 1 10

Water Gauge Cocks.

$\frac{1}{2}$ -inch Gauge, per set of two 24 0

Damping Brushes.

Flat 3½ inch Camel-hair Damping Brushes, for Copying Presses Rs 2 2

Solid Ink Leads.

Mordan's compressed VS and W Ink to be used as leads for
Mordan's patent pencils, per box containing 1 dozen .. „ 0 8

Draper's Air-Tight Inkstand,

Well-adapted for Office use, as the ink may be kept for any
length of time in as a good a condition as in a corked bottle ... „ 6 8

Card Cases.

Gentlemen's Russia-leather Card Cases, with rounded corners ... 1 4
Ladies ditto ditto ... 1 8
Ditto flexible or limp ditto ... 2 0
Gentlemen's ditto ditto ... 1 4

Blotting Paper.

Sheldon's best Blue, Buff, and White demy, thick, 40-lb. flat
Blotting Paper, Rs 1-12 per quire, or per ream ... 30 0
Ditto Pink ditto, 26-lb. ditto, Rs. 1-8 per quire, or per ream ... 24 0

Ivory Key Labels.

Best polished Ivory Key Labels, with steel rings, per dozen „ 1 0

Tassels for Ball Programmes.

White Silk Tassels for Ball Programmes, per dozen ... „ 1 8

Swan Quills.

Best Clarified Swan Quills, per bundle of 12 ... „ 3 12

Cut Quills.

Superfine Italian Cut Quills, in fancy boxes of 25 ... „ 1 4

Albums,

Bound in roan, gilt, with tinted paper, measuring 9½ by 7½ by
1½, engraved Album ... 11 0
Ditto ditto, 12 by 9½ by 1½ ditto ... 15 0

Scrap Books,

Bound in roan, gilt, measuring 8 by 6½ by 1½ inch, engraved Scrap
Book ... 5 0
Ditto ditto, 9½ by 7½ by 1½ do ... 6 0
Ditto ditto, 12 „ 8½ „ 1 „ „ ... 8 0
Ditto embossed do, 9½ „ 7½ „ 1½ „ „ ... 9 0
Ditto ditto, 15 „ 10½ „ 1½ „ „ ... 15 0

Courier Bags.

Best roan Courier Bags, measuring 8½ by 8 inches, with lock
and key ... 11 0
Ditto ditto, 9 by 8½ ditto ... 12 0
Ditto ditto, 9½ by 8½ ditto ... 13 0
Ditto ditto, 10½ by 9½ ditto ... 14 0
Ditto ditto, 11½ by 10 ditto ... 15 0
Ditto ditto, 12 by 10½ ditto ... 16 0

BARHAM, HILL, & CO'S ADVERTISEMENT.

Carpet Bags.

Brussel's Carpet Bags, measuring 19½ by 12 inches, with lock and key	R-	7	8
Ditto ditto, 26 by 11½ ditto	"	8	0
Ditto ditto, 21 " 16½ "	"	8	8
Ditto ditto, 26 " 15 "	"	9	0

Leather Travelling Bags

Cow-hide Travelling Bag, 18 by 10 inches, with lock and key	..	11	0
Ditto ditto, 19½ by 12½ ditto	"	16	0
Ditto ditto, 20½ by 11 ditto	..	16	0
Ditto ditto, 20½ by 12, with extra pocket, &c	..	18	0
Ditto ditto, 18 by 9½ inches, expanding, with ditto	..	20	0
Morocco ditto, 17 by 11½, with ditto	...	30	0

Note Paper and Envelopes.

De la Rue's extra thick burnished Albert size 6 by 4 inches			
Cream-laid Vellum Note Paper, per 5 quire packet	"	2	4
Envelopes to match the above, per hundred	"	1	4

Steel Pens.

Gillot's Magnum-Bonum, middle and broad points, No 263,			
Steel Pens, per box of one dozen	"		
Ditto School Pens, broad points, No 353, per box of a gross	"	3	0
Ditto Public Pens, Nos 292 and 293, per ditto	"	3	0
Ditto Principality Pens, Nos 2, 3, and 4, per ditto	"	3	8
Ditto Lithographic Pens, on cards of one dozen	..	1	8
Ditto Mapping Pens, ditto ditto	"	1	8
Michell's C J and R Steel Pens, per box of one gross	..		
Ditto L Magnum-Bonum ditto, per do	"	3	8
Hughes' Reservoir Steel Pens, per do	"		

Ebony Round Rulers.

Best Machine-turned 12 inch black Ebony Round Rules	...	0	10
Ditto, 15 inch, light ditto	..	0	12
Ditto, 18-inch, black ditto	..	1	0

Red and Black Sealing Wax.

Hyde's best Red and Black Sealing Wax, made expressly for tropical climates, As. 6 per stick, or per box containing 16 sticks, 1 lb	...	4	0
Plantagenet Guard Razors, per pair	...	6	8

Letter Clips.

Bronze Hand pattern Letter Clip	"	4	8
Ditto Fox's head ditto ditto	"	3	8
Ditto Domestic Duck's head ditto ditto	..	3	0
Ditto Wild Duck's ditto ditto ditto	"	3	8
Ditto Hawk's head ditto ditto	"	4	0
Ditto Hand ditto ditto. 1-12, 2, 2-4, and	...	2	8
Ditto Fancy, ditto ditto. 1, 1-4, 1-8, 1-12, and	"	2	8
Ditto Quarto Letter Clips	"	1	4

Pen Racks.

Bronzed Pen Rack, stag head pattern	Rs 4 0
Ditto double lacquered Pen Rack	... " 3 8
Brass double Pen Rack, with pen-brush	... " 2 0
Double Metal Racks, 1-4 and	... " 2 0

Thermometers.

Negretti and Zambia's 7-inch Boxwood Scale Thermometers, 2-8, 3, and	.. " 3 8
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Copying Books.

Letter Press Copying Books, octavo, 9 by 6 inches, containing 250 pages half-bound, with Index, lettered, &c	.. " 2 8
Ditto ditto, quarto, 11 by 9 inches, containing 500 pages, half- bound, with Index, lettered, &c	.. " 4 0

Lund's Pencil Cases.

Lund's ivory silver-mounted patent spring slide, ever painted, with external screw, L lead pencil case	... " 4 0
Ditto ditto, S lead ditto	... " 3 8
Ditto, Cedar-wood ivory top and point, electrom slide, C lead ditto	... 1 8
Ditto ditto, ivory top, ditto ditto	... 1 0
Ditto plain, Cedar, brass side ditto ditto	... 0 8
Ditto L leads for the above, per box of 1 dozen	... 1 12
Ditto S ditto ditto	... 1 8
Ditto C ditto ditto	... 0 12

Game of Steeple Chase.

Mahogany Board, &c, of sizes, 14, 20, and	.. 30 0
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Race Games.

Mahogany Board, &c, of sizes, 25, 40, and	.. 70 0
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SMOKING REQUIRES.**Pipes.**

Picked Meerschaum, carved head, Billiard Pipes, with amber mouth-piece, in leather covered-cases, Rs. 16 and	... " 18 0
Ditto ditto, straight stem do, 10, 18, and	.. " 20 0
Ditto ditto, bent ditto do, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, and	... " 17 0
Ditto ditto, belge ditto, 6 and	... " 14 0
Ditto ditto, Horse head pattern ditto	... " 15 0
Ditto ditto, Claw ditto ditto	... " 20 0
Ditto ditto, Fancy carved ditto, 15 and	... " 16 0
Ditto ditto, Victoria pattern ditto ditto	... " 10 0
Ditto ditto, Bamboo pattern stem ditto	... " 18 0
Briar Root Pipes, with plated cover and bone stem	... " 1 4
Ditto large, with plated cover and horn stem	... " 2 8
Ditto, with amber mouth-piece, in leather covered case	... " 2 0

Warren's Health Pipe, with bone and cherry stem, 1, 1-4, and	Rs. 1 8
Best Clay Cuffy Pipes, straight and curved, per dozen	... „ 1 8
Smoker's Companion, containing a Meerschaum Pipe and a	
Cigar-holder, in a leather-covered case	... „ 10 0

Cigar Holders.

Carved Meerschaum Cigar Holders, with large amber mouth-pieces, in leather-covered cases, at Rs 2-8, 3-8, 3-12, 4, 5, 5-8 and	6 0
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Pipe Stems.

Cherry-wood Pipe Stems, measuring 4½, 6½, 8½, and 11 inches, at As. 6, 8, 12, and Re	... „ 1 0
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Tobacco Pouches.

The Prince of Wales', India-rubber, self-closing Tobacco Pouches, small and large sizes, at 1 and	... „ 1 8
Best Seal Skin Tobacco Pouches, lined with thick India-rubber, small and large sizes, at 3 and	... „ 1 0

Smoker's Friend,

Comprising a Knife, Steel Cigar-Holder, and a Picker, with mother o'pearl and tortoise-shell handles, folding into 2½ inches	... „ 2 12
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Pipe Stoppers,

Of sizes	... „ 0 8
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Pipe Cleaners.

Wire Brush Pipe Cleaners	... „ 0 3
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Pipe Plugs,

Or Filters of sizes, As. 2 each, or per dozen	... „ 1 0
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Cigarette Papers.

Per roll, As 3, or per dozen rolls	... „ 1 12
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Cigar Cases.

Pig Skin Cigar Cases, measuring 5½ by 2½ and 5½ by 2 inches	... „ 2 8
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Sausage Machine.

Hale's Sausage and Mincing Machine, small and large sizes, 20 and	... „ 10 0
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STATIONERY.

With the view of reducing the Stock of the undermentioned Stationery, Messrs Barham, Hill, & Co., beg to offer the same, WHOLESALE FOR CASH, at the following, which, in most instances, are the actual cost prices, and in some even below them.—

Saunders's Blue Laid, 25 lb., demy, hand-made, Writing Paper, per ream.	... Rs 14 0
Ditto ditto, 44 lb, royal ditto, ditto, per do	... „ 24 12
Ditto ditto, 44 lb., do, ruled faint do, per do	... „ 26 0
Ditto ditto, 54 lb., super-royal, do. do., per do.	... „ 31 8

BARRIAM, HILL, & CO.'S ADVERTISEMENT.

Ditto ditto, 72 lb, imperial, hand-made do, per do.	Rs 42 0
Hodgkinson's ditto, 34 lb, medium, do do, per do	19 0
Ansell's ditto, 15 lb, hand-made, Foolscap, per do	5 10
Dickinson's Blue Laid, machine-made, 13 lb, Foolscap, per do.	3 14
Double Foolscap, 15 lb, Printing Paper, per do	4 0
Ditto 23 lb, ditto, per do	5 12
Royal, 24 lb, ditto, per do	6 0
Super-royal, 32 lb, ditto, per do	8 0
Double-royal, 46 lb, ditto, per do	11 0
Saunders' Imperial 40 lb., Lithographic Paper, per do	22 8
Dobbs, Kidd, and Co's Blue Linear, octavo, 8 by 5½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	2 12
French Cream and Blue Linear, octavo, 8 by 5½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	2 0
De la Rue's Cream-laid Linear, thin quarto, 9½ by 7½ inches, Bank Post Letter Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	3 0
Blue wove Post, large octavo, 8½ by 5½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	3 4
Cream-laid thick vellum, octavo, 7½ by 4½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	3 4
Ditto, extra thick Imperial Treasury, octavo, 7½ by 4½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	3 12
Rose-tinted, water-lined, octavo, 8½ by 5 Overland Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	2 0
Violet ditto, ditto, per do	2 0
Alhambra ditto, ditto, per do	2 0
Dobbs, Kidd, and Co's Cream-laid Queen's size, 5½ by 3½ inches, Satin Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	2 12
Blue-wove thick, quarto, 10 by 8 inches Letter Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do	3 4
Superfine Cream-laid, large octavo, 8½ by 5½ inches, Note Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do.	4 0
Blue wove Post, quarto, 11 by 8½ inches, Letter Paper, in ½-ream packets, per do.	5 8
Thick Cream-laid Envelopes, 4½ by 2½ inches per thousand	7 0
Ditto, ditto ditto, 4½ by 2½, per do	6 8
Thin ditto ditto, 4½ by 2½, per do	3 0
Ditto ditto ditto, oblong, 5½ by, 2½, per do.	3 0
Rose, Violet, and Chamois, do, do., 5½ by 2½, per do	6 8
Wedding Envelopes, of different patterns, per gross	3 8
Goose Quills, per thousand	15 0
Stephen's unchangeable Light-blue Writing Fluid, in half pints, per dozen	2 12
Foolscap size, one quire, marble cover Blank Books, per do.	4 8
Ditto, ditto ditto, faint line, per do.	5 8
Ditto, two quires, marble covered Blank Books, per do	3 0
Ditto, ditto ditto, faint lines. per do	10 0

BARRIAM, HILL, AND CO.,

2, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta

OAK-WOOD WRITING CABINET,

With partitions for paper and envelopes of sizes, 3 pigeon-holes; 2 drawers, receptacle for letters, date cards, 2 ink-bottles, with gilt hinge tops, 12-inch flat rule, ivory paper-lice, morocco blotting-book, 2 porcelain slates, eraser, a pair of scissors, with folding doors and full length brass hinges, with spring lock and key, size 19 by 16 by 10 inches . . . Rs 120 0

Ladies' Russia-leather Writing Case,

Fitted with stationery, account books, patent spring inkstands, measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 by 6 inches . . . „ 90 0

Traveller's Companion,

Containing solid silver mug, salt and pepper-box, folding knife, spoon and fork, with ivory handles, in leather case . . . „ 60 0

Containing folding knife, fork, and spoon . . . „ 7 0

Writing Desk,

Russia-leather Tourist's Writing Desk, made in the very best style, with gilt spring lock, and lined throughout with calf morocco, fitted with scissors, pen-knife, ever pointed pencil, ivory folder, pen-holder, patent inks, vesta box, and blotting-book, large 8vo, size $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 by $2\frac{1}{4}$, small 8vo, size 9 by 6 by 2 . . . „ 38 0

Writing-Desk and Despatch-Box,

In best Russia-leather, with patent lock, sunk brass handle, brass tube-hinge, lined with morocco leather throughout, fitted complete with porcelain tablet, inks, knife, paper-folder, pen-holder, pencil, blotter, scissors, and stationery, size 15 inches long, 10 wide, $7\frac{1}{4}$ deep . . . „ 70 0

Gentlemen's Writing and Dressing Case.

Gentlemen's Morocco-leather Writing and Dressing Case, with fittings, complete . . . „ 60 0

Ladies' Morocco-leather Retiicules,

With fittings, complete . . . „ 35 0

Ditto small ditto, with straps, Rs 2, 2-8, and . . . „ 3 0

Morocco-leather Travelling Writing Case,

Twelve inches square, with brass hinges running the whole width of case . . . „ 10 0

Ladies' Trinket Box,

With padded satin covered with rich velvet, brass bound, with lock and key, 8 by $5\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$. . . „ 10 0

Rose-Wood Writing Desk,

With velvet lining, partitions for envelopes of sizes, with lock and key Rs 32 0

Ivory Rule Pencils.

Ivory Silver-mounted, 6-inch Rule, combining pencil case and pen blade, and folding to 3 inches ... " 8 0
 Ditto ditto, with two pencil cases, and folding to do. ... " 6 0
 Ditto ditto, with a pencil case and tooth-pick, and folding to do. ... " 6 0

Ivory Pencil Case with Letter Balance,

Derry and Jones's new patent best Ivory Pencil Case, with propelling and repelling action, and letter weigher for English and Indian postage 5 0

Apothecary's Scales.

With glass dishes and steel beams and weights, in a mahogany box, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$... " 5 8

Autographic Presses.

Waterlow's Autographic Press, 20 by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with apparatus, complete ... " 150 0

Armillary Sphere.

A hollow Artificial Sphere, composed of various circles, illustrative of the imaginary lines by which the Earth, in Geography, is supposed to be surrounded, on brass stand ... " 40 0

Admiral Fitzroy's Storm Barometer,

By Negretti and Zambra ... " 85 0

Newman's Best Water-Color Boxes.

24-Cake Box, with extra colors, chalks, brushes, slabs, &c, fully fitted, in best polished mahogany, brass bound, with drawer, lock and key, size 12 by 9 inches, 4 inches deep ... " 80 0
 18-Cake Box, with extra colors, &c, as above, in best polished mahogany, with drawer, lock and key, size 11 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 4 inches deep ... " 60 0
 18-Cake Box (smaller size), in polished mahogany, brass bound, drawer, lock and key, size $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep ... " 35 0
 6-Cake Box, japanned tin, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$, with brushes, &c. ... " 8 8

Winsor and Newton's Japanned Tin Boxes of Oil-colors and Materials,

Size $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 9, $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep, containing the following 24 colors, viz., Aureolin, Raw Sienna, Naples Yellow, Yellow Ochre, Brown Ochre, Pale Cadmium, Yellow Cadmium, Burnt Sienna, Light Red, Indian Red, Vermilion, Rose Madder, Crimson Lake, Brown Madder, Cobalt, Prussian Blue, Terre Verte, Brown Pink, Raw Umber, Purple Brown, Bitumen, Flake White, Ivory Black, and Meghpi, also Sable Brushes, Hog-hair Brushes, and Badger Softener, Chalk, Portecrayon, Palette Knife, Capped Dipper, Mastic Varnish, Pale Drying Oil, and Mahogany Palette .. " 32 0

Ditto, size $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, with a dozen tubes of colors, brushes, &c Rs. .. Rs 16 0

Photographic Colors.

Manson's 24 Photographic Colors, with gold and silver shells, brushes, &c, in mahogany box, 9 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep .. " 20 0
Newman's 24 Photographic Colors, with brushes, &c, in mahogany box, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, with lock and key .. " 22 0
Ditto 12 ditto, with ditto-in ditto, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 2 inches deep, with lock and key .. " 12 0
By other makers, Rs 8 and .. " 16 0

Newman's Solid Sketch Books.

HALF-BOUND ROUGH HOT-PRESSED AND CRESWICK PAPER

Quarto, 14 by 10, 13 reduced to .. Rs 10 0
Octavo, 12 by 9, 9 ditto .. " 6 12
Octavo, 11 by 9, 8 ditto .. " 5 12
Octavo, 10 by 7, 7 ditto .. " 4 12
Drawing Blocks, 18 by 12, 11 ditto .. " 8 0
Ditto, 14 by 10, 7 ditto .. " 4 12
Ditto, 12 by 9, 5-8 ditto .. " 3 12
Drawing Book, 14 by 10, marble cover .. " 2 0
Drawing Books, Crayon paper, $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$.. " 3 8

Chemical Case,

Fully fitted with Chemicals and Apparatus of all descriptions suited for Chemical experiments, &c, 150 reduced to ... " 130 0
Small Cases, Rs. 16 and 40, ditto, 12 and 30 .. " 30 0

Globes.

Newton's 18-inch Terrestrial Globe, on mahogany stand ... " 45 0
——— 15 ditto ditto ditto ... " 40 0
——— 12 ditto ditto ditto ... " 32 0
——— 18 ditto Celestial ditto ditto ... " 45 0

Spare Brass Quadrants,

For Globes, of sizes, Rs 1-4 and .. " 1 8

Dissected Globe,

By Myers, in box .. " 15 0

Postage Scales and Balances.

Degrave, Short, and Tanner's Brass Letter Scales, on mahogany stand, with English and Indian weights, $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 oz. and $\frac{1}{4}$ to 16 tolahs, made to our order ... " 24 0

MOUNTED DOUBLE ELEPHANT DRAWING PAPER,

On Brown Holland, per sheet .. Rs 3 0

India Rubber.

Best Bottle India Rubber, per lb. , " 3 0

Ditto, in pieces, from 4 annas to ... " 1 8

GAMES**Aunt Sally,**

A Capital Out-door Game, adapted for two or more persons, ... , 18 0

Red, White, and Blue.

This Capital Game is played by two or more persons, and affords
endless amusement and exercise ... , 12 6

Game of the Moorish Fort,

A round Game of skill, played on an ordinary table, covered with
cloth, complete, with instructions, in mahogany box , , 16 0

Table Croquet,

By Jacques , 12 0

Practical Building Toy,

With directions and working drawings . , 12 0

The New Game of the Oxford University Boat,

With folding cloth Board ... , 20 0

Butler's Tangible Arithmetic and Geometry,

For Children, large size ... , 5 0

Siege of Sebastopol,

A very Amusing Game ... , 4 12

The Game of Imperial Contest,

Or the Allied Armies, with board , ... , 12 0

. Backgammon, or Draught and Chess Boards.

Calf skin covered Backgammon or Draught Boards, folding into
17 by 10 inches, having black and white, and red and white
squares, with men, dice, and dice boxes . , 12 0

Chess Boards.

Marble Chess Board, in wooden frame , ... , 8 0

Sheep-skin Chess Board, folding flat, 16 inches square , , 4 0

Chessmen.

Staunton's medium size	Rs. 20	0
Wooden Chessmen, of sizes, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, and	..	18 0
China Ivory Chessmen	..	22 4
In-Statu-quo Chess Board, in morocco case	..	30 0
Ditto, in mahogany case	..	60 0

Cribbage Boards,

Folding to hold a pack of cards, with ivory pegs	..	4 0
Plain flat ditto, with ditto, 12 by 3½	..	4 0

Dominoes.

Sets in ivory	..	3 0
Ditto, large size	..	5 0

Cannonade,

Or Castle Bagatelle, a capital Round Game, with board	..	28 0
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Cricket Bats.

Duck's plain Bats	..	4 8
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Racket Bats,

Jellene's	..	12 0
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Quoits.

Best wrought iron hand polished Quoits, 4 lbs, 5 lbs, and 6 lb	..	12 0
per set of four, Rs 10 and	..	1 8
Pms for ditto, per pair	..	1 8

Playing Cards.

Goodall and Son's best Mogul Gold Backs	..	1 12
Ditto ditto, new floriated patterns, 1-4 and	..	1 0

Rouge et Noire,

In Bohemian glass	..	4 8
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Spring Dice,

In ditto	..	4 8
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Whist Counters.

Chappuis's, per set of two	..	2 8
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Chemical Diagrams.

Galloway's Chemical Diagrams, per set	..	5 0
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Velvet Sponges,

Each	..	8 0
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Faber's Colored Pencils,

Red and blue, 4 annas each, or per dozen ... Rs. 2 8

Faber's Official Pencils,

Per dozen ... 1 4

Mordan's Drawing Pencils,

Six annas each, or per dozen ... 3 0

De la Rue's Drawing Pencils.

II, III, IIII, 4II, IIB, BBB, F, per dozen ... 2 8
FHB, BBB. ... 3 8

Cohen's Drawing Pencils,

Four annas each, or per dozen ... 2 2

Benda's Colored Pencils,

Two annas each, or per dozen ... 1 4

Colored Cards,

Six by 4½ inches, per packet of 25 ... 0 12

Cards.

Superfine Tinted Enamelled Surface Printing Cards, of various
tints, large size, per dozen packs ... 6 0
Ditto ditto, double large size, per ditto ... 12 0

Printing Cards, Extra Superfine.

Double large size, in packs of 52 each, per doz ... 12 0
Quadruple small ditto ... 15 0
Ditto large ditto ... 24 0

Pen-Holders,

Four annas each, or per dozen ... 1 8

Adhesive Luggage Labels.

Luggage Labels, in books of 24 labels in each ... 0 4

Programme Cards,

Per packet of 25 ... 3 0

Programme Pencils,

Per dozen ... 1 8

Mill-Boards.

Steam Engine Mill-Boards, well seasoned, of size, per lb. ... 0 8

Letter Clips.

Foolscap size, bronzed, 8 annas each, or per dozen	Rs 4 8
Quarto or letter size, ditto, 6 annas each, or per dozen	3 0

Wafer Seals,

Brass, with wooden handle	0 8
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Cutlery.

Pen-Knives, superior Sheffield-made, best Ivory and Mother-o'-pearl, 1, 2, 3, and 4 blades, Rs 1-8 to	4 8
Scissors.—Best Steel Scissors, for Ladies and Gentlemen, Rs, 1-4 and	1 8
Pruning Knives	4 0
Sporting Knives, Rs 6, 9, 12, 14, and	18 0
Bowie Knives, best steel, in leather sheath, 11 inches	5 0
Ditto ditto, 12 inches	6 0
Knife, Fork, and Spoon, in leather case	6 0

Call-Bells, Taper Stands, Trays, and Candlesticks.

Plated Call-Bell	4 8
Ditto bronzed eagle-top	4 8
Taper Stands, with colored glass receptacle for matches	5 0
Small Plated Candlestick	4 8
Smaller ditto ditto	2 0

Oak-Wood Slope Writing Case,

With partitions for paper and envelopes, a porcelain slate, date cards, a drawer, and spring lock and key, size 16½ by 11 by 14	10 0.
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Matches.

Bryant and May's Patent Safety Wax Matches, in japanned tin boxes, containing 250 each, per ½ dozen boxes	1 4
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Rimmel's Ivory Folding Fans,

With receptacle for scent	4 0
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Feeding Bottles.

Maw's Fountain Infants' Feeding Bottle, fitted in case, with cleaning brush, tube, teat, and porcelain capsule	2 8
Ditto ditto, with tube, teat, and metal capsule	1 0

Maw's India-rubber Nipples,

Each	0 8
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Binoculars,

From Gebhardt and Bottman & Co, and Marion and Co, in morocco, leather and japanned, of sizes, with outer sliding case, Rs 35, 50, 55, and	60 0
From Casella and others, in ditto, Rs 25, 28, and	30 0
From Re-s, in ditto, Rs 55, 85, 90, 110, and	140 0

MAKINTOSH'S WATERPROOF GOODS.

Sheeting, best quality, 44 inches wide, per yard	Rs 6 0
Patent An-Proof Beds, size, uninflated, 88 by 36 inches, with bellows	„ 65 0
Patent Mattresses, size, uninflated, 78 by 36 inches, with ditto...	„ 75 0
Ditto Pillows, size, uninflated, 18 by 13 inches	„ 4 0
Tent Sheets, 8 feet and 4 inches by 7 feet and 4 inches, with eyelets for pegs	„ 35 0
Bed Sheets, for domestic purposes, 6 feet square	„ 8 0
Circular Air Cushions, Rs 5-8 and	„ 6 8
Square ditto, Rs 4-8, 5-8, and	„ 6 8
Life Preservers, Rs 8, 12, and	„ 14 0

Geological Models,

Sopwith's, in a box, reduced from Rs 85 to	„ 45 0
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Carriage Clock.

An Eight-day Time-piece	„ 55 0
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Water Filter.

Portable Water Filter, with India-rubber tube	„ 3 0
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Tracing Cloth.

Dowse's best, No 6 36 inches wide, in rolls of 24 yards	„ 28 0
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Tracing Paper.

Best English Tracing Paper, size 30 by 40 inches, in rolls of 5 quires, per quire	„ 5 0
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Parchment.

Best writing size, 30 by 26 inches	„ 3 0
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Guard-Books.

Fifteen by 10½ inches, with index	„ 4 0
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Manifold Writers.

Wedgwood's large 4to size, morocco, with lock and key, fitted, complete	„ 20 0
----- ditto ditto, foolscap size	„ 30 0
----- Copying Books, for Wedgwood's Manifold Writers, large letter size	„ 1 8
----- Copying Paper ditto, per quire	„ 1 0

Steel Pen Brushes,

On bronze stands	„ 1 4
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Dot Warfers,

Per box, As 4, 8, 12, and	„ 1 0
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Fancy Book Markers,

Of sizes and patterns, As 8, 12, and .. Rs 1 0

Tooth Picks.

Quill Tooth Picks, in boxes containing 50 ... " 0 8

Ochiombra,

Or transparent Eye-shade .. " 5 0

Pins.

Kerby Beard and Co's Royal Diamond Pins, two sizes, per packet
of 12 papers of 480 pins each, Rs 2-8 and .. 3 0

Electro-Galvanic Hair Brushes.

Child's patent, price reduced to .. " 9 7

Best Entomological Pins,

Of sizes, per box .. 1 0

Hones,

For pen-knives .. " 0 12

Photographic Filter,

Of French manufacture .. 3 0

Chemical Spirit Lamp.

Made of Brass .. " 10 0

Steam Gauge,

In a box .. " 150 0

Clarke's Patent Cooking Lamp,

In a japanned tin case, with a supply of candles, price reduced
from 40 to .. " 20 0

Clarke's Patent Wax Candles,

For camp lanterns, carriage or buggy lamps, in paper boxes
containing 10 candles, net .. " 0 8

Or in wooden cases, containing six boxes, net .. " 2 8

Lover's Lamp,

Bronzed and brass, with two domes and four axes of wicks .. " 6 0

Spare domes for the above, each .. " 0 12

Wicks for ditto, per box .. " 0 8

**Mineralogists' Case of Specimens of Minerals,
Rocks, and Fossils,**

With a catalogue of the collection .. " 150 0

Griffin's Chemical Laboratory,

A portable collection of the most approved Apparatus, Preparations and Tests for performing an Easy and Instructive course of Chemical Experiments, arranged by John F. Griffin, in accordance with the Experiments described in the ninth edition of his Chemical Recreations, Rs 16 and ...Rs 30 0

Shaving Brushes,

Badger-hair, reduced to Rs. 1-8 and , 2 0

GOLD AND SILVER PENCIL CASES, PEN-HOLDERS, TABLETS, TOOTH PICKS, CHARMS &c.

Mordan's Gentlemen's embossed, ever pointed, elongating, Gold Penholder and Pencil Case, with reserve for leads, closing to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches	... ..	70	0
— — — — — ever-pointed, engine-turned, elongating, Gold Pencil Case, closing to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches,	... ..	35	0
— — — — — Lady's Gold, 4 inch, embossed, Penholder and Pencil Case	... ..	60	0
— — — — — Gentlemen's ever-pointed, fluted, elongating, Gold Pencil Case, closing to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches	... ..	25	0
— — — — — Lady's Gold, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch, engine-turned, stone-top Pencil Case	... ..	30	0
— — — — — Ditto ditto ditto, fluted, ditto ditto	... ..	26	0
— — — — — Ditto ditto ditto, embossed, ditto ditto	... ..	34	0
— — — — — Gentlemen's Gold engine-turned, Penholder and Pencil Case, closing to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length	... ..	40	0
— — — — — Lady's Gold, 4 inch, fluted pattern, Penholder and Pencil Case	... ..	40	0
— — — — — Ivory and Gold-mounted, elongating, Penholder and Pencil Case, closing to 4 inches	... ..	25	0
— — — — — Silver Cannon Shape, Pencil Case, elongating, closing to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches	... ..	7	0
— — — — — Silver cross ditto, sliding ditto	... ..	8	0
— — — — — $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch, engine-turned, Penholder and Pencil Case	... ..	10	0
— — — — — 5 inch Silver embossed Penholder and Pencil Case	... ..	14	0
— — — — — 5 inch embossed Silver Pencil Case, with stone seal top	... ..	12	0
— — — — — 4 inch embossed Silver Pencil Case, with stone seal top	... ..	13	0
— — — — — $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch, embossed Silver Pencil Case, with stone seal top	... ..	9	0
— — — — — 3 inch, engine-turned, Silver Pencil Case, with seal top	... ..	9	0
— — — — — $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch, embossed ditto, with ditto	... ..	8	0

Mordan's 4 inch, engine-turned, Silver Pencil Case	Rs 10 0
———— 3½ inch ditto ditto, with stone seal top	„ 12 0
———— 3½ ditto ditto ditto	„ 7 0
———— 3½ ditto ditto ditto	„ 7 0
———— 3½ ditto ditto ditto, with wafer seal	„ 8 0
Sheldon's Unique Pocket Companion, or Letter Weighing and Writing Apparatus, embodying in the form of a handsome ever painted pencil case of moderate size, twelve distinct and important advantages	, 16 0
Ivory Rule Pencils, silver-mounted, combining pen blade and pencil, 3 inches when folded	„ 4 0
Ditto ditto, having 2 pencils, folding to 3 inch	„ 4 0
Derry and Jones's new patent best Ivory Pencil, with propelling and repelling action and Indian letter balance	„ 5 0
Electro-plated, Ebony, and Ivory new patent Pocket Pencil	„ 0 12
Patent ever-pointed sliding Ebony Pencil Case	„ 0 8
Ditto ditto, Ivory do do	„ 0 10
Mordan's Ivory Handle Silver Desk, pencil, with knife and scale of 3 inches	, 4 0
Lund's Cedar Pencil Case, ivory-mounted, with red and black leads	, 0 8
Ivory handle silver-mounted Penholders, 2 and	„ 2 8
Mother-o'-pearl Handle silver-mounted ditto	„ 4 8
Dunn's Marking Ink Pencil, with a bottle of solution and brush	„ 0 12
Mordan's Ladies' Tablets, silver gilt, engraved and engine-turned, with ivory leaves, patent pencil, chain, and ring	„ 20 0
Mordan's Fine Gold Tooth Picks, with seals at end, plain and engine-turned, 2½ inches in length	„ 16 0
Mordan's Silver Tooth Picks, engine-turned	„ 2 0
Gold Charm, Horse Shoe, with microscopic photograph	„ 10 0
Ditto, Corset with ditto	„ 11 0
Ditto, Flute with ditto	„ 10 0
Ditto, Cannon with ditto	„ 8 0
A fresh supply of Mordan's Gold Pens has just been received, price	„ 5 0
Also of Glaciers' Diamonds, do	„ 12 0

Writing Ink.

Stephens' Blue-Black Writing Fluid, in pints, per bottle	„ 1 12
Or per dozen	„ 16 0
Ditto ditto, in half pints, per ditto	„ 0 12

On per dozen	Rs 8 0
Arnold's Red Ink in pints, per bottle	1 8
On per dozen	13 0
Ditto ditto, in half pints, per bottle	0 12
On per dozen	8 0
Ditto ditto, in quarter pints, ditto	0 6
On per dozen	4 8
Weavers' Cloth Microscope	2 0

Iron Safes

Chubb's, 27 by 20 inches	170 0
Ditto, 24 by 18 ditto	150 0

PHOTOGRAPHIC APPARATUS AND MATERIALS.

Lenses and Cameras with Lenses.

	R.	A.
Petzval's Double Acromatic Lenses, by Voightlander, for Portraits, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$, which by adjustment will also take views 8 by 6, as per directions in box	250	0
Ross's Stereoscopic Mahogany Camera, with Lenses, complete focussing Glass Screw and Dark Slides	140	0
Ottewill's Medallion Camera, with Ross's Lenses, do do	150	0
———— Panoramic Camera and Lens, with do. do	275	0
Dalmeyer's Stereoscopic Camera and two Lenses, Nos 3,374 and 3,375, with do do	140	0
Leicou's 3-inch Lens, for Portrait, with the Camera, 10 by 8	275	0
Stereoscopic Mahogany Camera, with Lenses by Voightlander, No 10,473, with focussing Glass Screw and Six Slides, fitted into a wooden box	150	0
Ottewill's Stereoscopic Camera, for Double Cartes, with Ross's Lenses, No 1, Instantaneous Shutter	275	0
Ross's 4-inch Portrait Lens and Diaphragms, for Portraits, 10 by 8	335	0
Ross's 3-inch Portrait Lens, for Plates, 5 by 4 inches, with Diaphragms	220	0
———— $2\frac{1}{2}$ -inch ditto, Nos 12,330 and 9,385, each	150	0
———— $2\frac{1}{2}$ -inch Portrait Lens, for Plates, $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with Diaphragms	150	0
Ross's 2-inch Acromatic C. D. V Lenses	85	0
Ross's 3-inch Single Landscape Lenses, Nos 9,020 and 9,019, with Diaphragms, each	140	0
———— $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch Actinic Triplet, with Diaphragms, 12 by 10	87	8
———— $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch Actinic Triplets, with Diaphragms, 15 by 12, each	115	0
———— $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch Actinic Triplets, 10 by 8 Plates, each	55	0
———— 1-inch ditto ditto, with Instantaneous Shutter, each	50	0
———— 1-inch Instantaneous ditto, Nos. 5,720 and 5,155, each	25	0
Ross's 3-inch Portrait Lens, for Plates, 8 by 6, No. 2,961	100	0
———— 3-inch Single Landscape Lens, No 5,010 (no cap)	75	0

	Rs	A
Dalmeyer's Carte-de-Visite Lens, No. 9,432, 5 by 4	140	0
Ross's 3-inch ditto ditto, No 1,376	75	0
Voghtlander's Portrait Lens for Plates, 8½ by 6½ inches, No 5,517	175	0
———— Single Land-scape Lens, for Plates, 12 by 10 inches, No 9,382	100	0
Goddard's Portrait Lens, for Plates, 6 by 5 inches	40	0
Lechebourn's Single Landscape Lens, for Plates, 12 by 10 inches	70	0
———— Portrait Lens for Cartes, Nos. 9,226 and 8,645, each	70	0
———— Landscape Lens, for Plates, 8½ by 6½, Nos 8,275 and 8,364, each	35	0
Portrait Lens (old), not complete, glasses 2½ inches	12	0

Cameras.

Small Camera, on Latimer Clark's principle, for Stereoscopes	35	0
Ottewill's Stereoscopic Camera, 1½ by 4½ inches	40	0
———— Mahogany Camera, for double Portraits, 8 by 5 inches...	100	0
———— Mahogany Camera, for Plates, 8½ by 6½ inches	140	0
———— ditto ditto, 8 by 8 inches	120	0
———— ditto ditto, C D V	60	0
———— Mahogany Stereoscopic Camera	75	0
———— Mahogany Stereoscopic, 8½ by 6½ inches Camera, with Looking-glass Reflector	125	0
———— On Captain Fawke's Principles (Bellows), body for Plates, 8½ by 6½ inches	175	0
Dalmeyer's Stereoscopic Camera	75	0
Ottewill's Stereoscopic Camera	80	0
———— Mahogany Camera, for Plates, 8½ by 6½ inches	125	0
———— Mahogany Camera Swing Back, for plates, 10 by 10 inches	225	0
———— Camera, for Medallion Portraits, with shifting back and Rack work adjustment	100	0

All the above Cameras are complete with their focussing screens and dark slides

Glass Retorts,

From Rs 2 to	5
Ditto ditto retort-receivers, each	2
4 „ ditto ditto	2
Porcelain Retorts, each	7

Colodion and Chemicals.

Thomas's Colodion, in pint bottles, each	4
Ditto ditto, in ¼ pints, each	3 0

	R ^s	A
Mawson's Neg. Col. in $\frac{1}{2}$ pints, each with Iodizers	7	0
Ditto ditto, in $\frac{1}{2}$ pints, each ditto	3	8
Pure Tannin, in 1-oz bottles, each	2	4
Liqueur Ammonia, in pints, each	2	4
Ditto ditto, each	2	4
Hopkins and William's Liquid Jet, in $\frac{1}{2}$ -pint bottles, each	1	12
Sulphuric Ether, in quart bottles, each	6	0
Hopkins and William's Chloride of Calcium, in $\frac{1}{2}$ pints, each	2	0
Ditto Citric Acid, in 8-oz bottles, each	2	0
Ditto Glacial Acetic Acid, in 4-oz. do, each	2	0
Ditto Citric Acid, in 4-oz ditto, each	1	0
Ditto Caustic Potash, in 6-oz do, each	1	12
Ditto Gallic Acid, in 1-oz do, Re 1, 4-oz.	2	4
Ditto Glycerine, in 4-oz do, each	2	6
Ditto Cyanide of Potassium, in 8-oz do	2	0
Ditto ditto ditto, in 4-oz do, each	1	4
Tripoli Powder, in 2-lb do, each	4	4
Ditto, in $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. do, each	2	4
Dextenne, in 1-lb do, each	1	0
Iodide of Potassium, in 2-oz ditto, each	1	0
Precipitated Chalk, in 2-lb bottles, each	3	0
Benzole, in 8-oz ditto, each	2	0
Acetate of Soda, in 4-oz ditto, each	1	4
Ditto, in 8-oz ditto, each	2	4
Oxalic Acid, in 4-oz ditto, each	1	12
Bromide of Sodium, in 2-oz ditto, each	2	0
Ditto of Ammonium, in 1-oz ditto, Re. 1, 2-oz, 1-12, 4-oz	3	0
Ditto of Lithium, in 1-oz ditto, each	2	0
Ditto of Potassium, in 2-oz. ditto, each	4	0
Bichromate of Mercury, in 1-oz. ditto, each	2	8
Iodide of Ammonium, 2-oz. bottle	3	8
Ditto of Admium, 1-oz. ditto	2	8
Formic Acid, 4-oz. ditto	1	4
Chloride of Baryara, 16-oz. ditto	2	8
Nitrate of Strontia, 2-lb ditto	3	8
Bichromate of Soda, 2-lb. ditto	2	0
Carbonate of Soda, 1-oz ditto	1	0
Nitrate of Uranum, 2-oz ditto	2	0

	<i>Rs</i>	<i>A</i>
Polishing Powder, 2-oz tin box	0	8
Iodide of Iron, 2-oz. bottle	0	12
Sulpho-cyanide of Potassium, 2-oz ditto	1	12
Protosulphate of Iron, 1-lb ditto	1	0
Photographic Colours.		
Box of Coloured Crayon	1	4
Boxes of assorted Liquid Colours, containing 12 bottles, each	6	0
Mansion's Photographic Colours, containing 24 colours, each	14	0
Newman's Powder Colours, containing 12 colours	7	8
Mansion's Liquid Colours, in mahogany box, containing 12 colours, each	7	8
Mansion's Fluid Colour Boxes, containing 24 of all sorts of colours, each	14	0
Filters.		
Porcelain, from As 8 to	3	0
Glass ditto, 1 and 4 oz., at Re 1 and	2	0
Printing Frames.		
Ottewill's Mahogany Printing Frames, 15 by 12 inches, to 7 by 5, from Rs 20 to	27	8
Dark Slides,		
Of sizes for large and small Cameras and for the stereoscope, also separate inner frames, from As. 12 to Rs.	7	0
Ottewill's Dark Boxes,		
For Plates, 12 by 10 and 10 by 8, also for the Stereoscope, from Rs. 10 to	15	0
Photographic Papers.		
Lewing's Albumenized Paper, per quire	6	0
Circular packets of Filtering Paper	0	6
Card Mounts.		
Cards for Carte-de-Visite, per 1,000	6	0
Imperial sheets of Card Boards, per dozen	12	0
Mats and Passepartouts,		
Of various designs, from Rs. 8 to	4	0
Photographic Morocco Cases,		
Of sizes from 4 by 3 to 8½ by 6½, from Rs. 7 to	12	0
Calico and Yellow Cloth.		
Black glazed Calico, per yard	0	8

Scales and Weights.

	Rs.	A.
Mahogany Boxes of Scales and Weights, 12 by 10 inches ..	20	0
Oak-wood Boxes of Scales and Weights, 9 by 5 ..	16	0
Glass Pans for scales and Weights ..	0	12
Scales and Weights for Photographic Chemicals, with mahogany drawer, 16 by 9 ..	35	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 14 by 8 ..	30	0
Mahogany Small Box of Scales and Weights ..	4	0
Brass Stands for weighing Chemicals ..	7	8

Back Grounds, &c.

Slips Pillars, Balconies, Vases, Cheffioniers, Book-case Writing Desks, of various designs, from Rs 7-8 to ..	20	0
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Show Cards, &c.,

And larger Portraits up to 10 by 8, from Rs 2-8 to ..	6	0
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Rolling Press.

Photographic Rolling Press, double gearing, 12-inch Roller ..	150	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 15-inch Roller ..	190	0

Plate Boxes,

From 10 by 8 to 7 by 4½, from Rs 2 to ..	5	0
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Glass Baths.

Ottewill's Mahogany Glass Baths for Plates, 8½ by 6½, each ..	10	0
Ditto ditto, Stereoscopic ditto, 7 by 4½, each ..	8	0
Ditto ditto, 10 by 8, ditto ..	15	0
Chance's Unmounted Glass Bath for Stereoscope, size 7½ by 4½ ..	6	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 4 by 3 ..	4	0
Ditto ditto, for Plates, 10 by 8 ..	6	0
Ditto ditto ditto, 6½ by 3½ ..	4	0

Porcelain Dipping Baths,

From 4 by 4 to 10 by 8 inches, from Rs 2-4 to ..	7	0
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Glass and Porcelain Dippers,

From 6 by 1½ to 18 by 3 inches, from Rs 2 to ..	4	0
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Deep Porcelain Trays,

From 24 by 18 to 8 by 6, from Rs 5 to ..	14	8
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Shallow Porcelain Trays,

From 12 by 10 to 6 by 5½ from Rs 12 to ..	3	0
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	Rs. A.
Shallow Glass Trays,	
10 by 8 to 6 by 5, from Rs 2 to	5 0
Deep Glass Trays,	
From 10 by 8 to 5 by 4, from Rs. 4 and	5 0
Glass and Porcelain Funnels,	
From 4 to 10 inches, As 8 to Re.	1 0
Glass Stirring Rods,	
From 8 to 15 inches, from Rs 4 to	8 0
Narrow Neck Stoppered Bottles,	
From $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 lbs, from As 8 to	1 4
Wide Mouthed Stoppered Bottles,	
From 2 to 4 oz, each from As 4 to	0 6
Graduated Collodion Stoppered Measures,	
From 2 to 6 oz, from Rs 1-8 to	3 0
Graduated Measuring Glasses,	
From 40 oz to 1 oz from Rs 5 to	1 0
Collodion Bottles,	
From 1 to 8 oz, from Rs 1-12 to	3 4
Developing Glasses,	
Of sizes, from As. 4 to Rs	2 8
Vignette Glasses,	
From $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 by 4, from Rs 3 to	1 8
Florence Flasks, each from As. 4 to Rs.	1 0
Test Graduated Glasses, from Rs 1-8 to	3 0
Disks and Cutting Glasses,	
From Plates 12 by 10 to 5 by 4, from Re 1 to	4 0
Miscellaneous.	
Test Tubes, each	1 0
Mahogany Box, 12 by 9, containing 4 dozen Chemical Tests	30 0
Test Tubes, each	0 12
Ditto, 10 inch	0 10
Small Portable Bellows, each	25 0
Indian Rubber Tubing, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, the yard	1 0

	Rs.	d.
Finger Stalls, each	0	4
Mahogany Tripod Tops, for large Cameras, each	12	0
Bronze Tripod Tops with screw, each Rs. 3-8	4	0.
Iditto, Plate-cleaners for plates, 8½ by 6½ and 10 by 8, Rs. 4 and	0	0
Developing Stands, assorted, each	3	0
Chemical Labels, 1 dozen packet	1	8
Stereoscopic Slides each 1 Re- carts of celebrated persons	0	8
Galvanic Battery Baths, each	7	8
Ashtupod Stand, 4 feet 6 inches, Rs. 9	10	0
Water Distilling Apparatus	14	0
Yellow Chamous Skins	1	0
Stereoscopic Transparencies, each	3	0
Pins for hanging Sensized Paper, per dozen	1	0
Magnifying Glasses, each	2	0
Glass Tubings, each	4	0
Glass Blow-pipes, 15 inches long, each	0	12
4-inch Crucibles	2	0
Porcelain Pestle and Mortar	3	0
Glass Spirit Lamps	2	0
Ortewill's Focussing Screens, 3, 3-8, and	4	8
Pieces of Ground-glass for ditto, 10 by 8 inches	2	4
Retort-receiving Bottles, 4 inches	3	12
Photographic Deal-wood Box, with partitions, size 2 feet 4½ inches by 1 foot by 11 inches	22	0
Deal-wood Box, 10 inches by 8 inches by 6 inches	5	0

Works on Photography.

Amateur Photography, by Matheson	1	0
Barnes on Dry Collodion Process	1	0
Catechism of Photography	1	0
Church of England Photographic Portrait Gallery, 41 Prints, each Prints	1	10
Cowley's Photography in India	1	0
Eyraud on the Intervention of Art in Photography	1	4
Fothergill Process, by R. W. Hall	1	0
Hand-book to the Daguerreotype Process, by S. D. Humphrey	3	8
Heisch's Elements of Photography		
Kemp's Dry Process		

	Rs	A
Long's Dry Process	1	0
Microscopic Photography, by James Nicholls	1	0
Newman's Harmonious Colouring as applied to Photographs ...	1	0
Photographic Journal, vols VII, VIII, and IX, each	6	0
———— Notes, vol V	8	0
Poole's Manual of Photographic Manipulation	4	8
Seely's Ambrotype Manual	1	0
Specifications of Patents relating to Photography,	1	4
Sutton's Dry Process	1	0
„ Positive Colodion Process	1	10
„ Printing Process	1	0
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William's (Fisk) Guide to Indian Photography	2	0
Smith and Beck's Photographs of the Moon, (1 set of 12)	13	4

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